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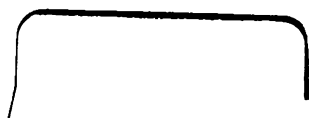
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History of New England.



A
COMPENDIOUS HISTORY
OF
NEW ENGLAND,
EXHIBITING
AN INTERESTING VIEW
OF THE
FIRST SETTLERS OF THAT COUNTRY,
THEIR CHARACTER, THEIR SUFFERINGS,
AND THEIR
ULTIMATE PROSPERITY.

COLLECTED AND ARRANGED, FROM AUTHENTIC SOURCES OF INFORMATION,

By JEDIDIAH MORSE, D. D. AND Rev. ELIJAH PARISH, A. M.
OF BOSTON, NEW ENGLAND.

London:

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1808.



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ADVERTISEMENT.

The reputation acquired by this work in America, has induced the publisher to presume that it would be an acceptable addition to English Literature; and although it must be allowed that the work is more particularly interesting to the inhabitants of those parts of North America to which it immediately refers, yet, as that part of the globe was first settled, under very remarkable circumstances by refugees from this country, it cannot fail of interesting, in a most lively manner, those persons who have paid any attention to that part of English History which relates their expulsion from their native land; nor can it be read without sentiments of the warmest gratitude to divine providence by those who compare the the nstate of religious intolerance with the present freedom from persecution, which has so gloriously signalized the reign of the House of Brunswick.

P R E F A C E.

EVERY person should possess some knowledge of the history of his own country. It seems necessary to the existence of true and enlightened patriotism. Youth is the fittest season to acquire this knowledge. It is the season of the most leisure; the memory is then less incumbered; this knowledge gratifies that curiosity, which is natural to the human mind, and which is peculiarly strong in the early period of life.

Among the first settlers of New England were some of the best and wisest men of the age; men remarkable for their christian piety, patience, fortitude, and benevolent enterprise, deserving a rank among the worthies who have founded empires, enlightened nations, and given glory to the

age and country in which they lived. Its history, in consequence, has been more entirely preserved, and better authenticated, from its first settlement, than that of any other portion of the globe, of equal magnitude and importance. No history is more replete with useful instruction and entertainment. It furnishes many important lessons to warriors, statesmen, and divines. It may be read and studied with much profit by our youth.

The materials for the history of this favoured portion of the world, though abundant, have hitherto been scattered in many volumes, too expensive and too disjointed, to be rendered useful to the rising generation. To reduce them to a form, order, and size adapted to the use of the higher classes in schools, and to families, has been our aim in compiling this small work. We have endeavoured faithfully to bring into view the most operative causes, near and more remote, which led to the settlement of New England, with the impelling motives of the immediate agents in this bold enterprise, and to trace the steps by which

she has risen to her present distinguished rank in the political, literary, and commercial world. To render the work interesting to youth, we have laboured to clothe our ideas in plain, familiar language, and to blend entertainment with instruction.

The sources whence we have derived our information have been very numerous, and the most authentic that our country affords. Hazard, Chalmers, Winthrop, Morton, Oldmixon, Mather, Prince, Hutchinson, Minot, Belknap, Trumbull, Sullivan, Williams, H. Adams, together with Winslow's "Relation of Remarkable Things, &c." "Journal of a Plantation," from Purchas' Pilgrims, Johnson's "Wonder-working Providences," Wood's "Prospect of New England," Caley's "More Wonders of the invisible World," the valuable Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and many occasional sermons, miscellaneous publications, records and manuscripts, have been faithfully consulted, and their essence condensed into this little volume.

Conscious that, in compiling and publishing this work, we have been prompted by an upright regard to the best interests of our country, we commit it to the candor and patronage of the public. We hope the youth of New England will read with pleasure and improvement, what we have written for their particular use, with labour and delight; that while reading, they will admire, then love, then imitate the shining virtues of their pious forefathers, be emulous to preserve pure their wise institutions, and like them, receive the applause and blessings of succeeding generations.

J. MORSE.

E. PARISH.

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HISTORY

OF

NEW ENGLAND.

CHAP. I.

Advantages of History—Discovery of New England—its first Settlement—Pestilence.

HISTORY has always been a persuasive method of instructing mankind. Many good men have in every age employed it for this invaluable purpose. Though precepts and admonition often have a commanding energy, an irresistible influence; though the pulpit will for ever stand unrivalled among the means of instruction and reformation, still history lends her alluring and powerful assistance. Her salutary light is often of incalculable importance: she brings to view the exact fulfilment of scripture prophecies; she displays goodness in real life with all its felicities, vice with all its miseries. Examples of individuals great and good, of communities distinguished for integrity and success, powerfully persuade to an imitation of their virtues.

If any country has merited the notice of history, New England has her strong claims. Beginning in weakness and sufferings; at one time with less than half a dozen persons able to defend themselves; from the bosom of uncouth tribes of savages, from feebleness, poverty, and contempt, she has risen in might, and numbers, and resources, till she may bid defiance to invasion from any power by land or sea. Her virtues, her industry, her frugality, her piety, and valor, in the hands of God, have been the means of this unexampled prosperity. Her soil is not the most fertile, her climate is forbidding, yet

her wealth is greater, and her population more numerous, than any other portion of the United States. There is much truth in the remark of a European writer; "Were not the cold climate of New England supplied with *good laws and discipline*, the barrenness of that country would never have brought people to it, nor have advanced it in consideration and formidableness above the other English plantations, exceeding it much in fertility and other inviting qualities."

America was discovered by Columbus in 1492. The news rapidly spread through Europe, and every maritime power, from the Baltic to the Adriatic sea, rushed forth to gaze on the amazing curiosity, a NEW WORLD, or to seize a portion for themselves. Among these the English, ever forward in daring enterprises, took a conspicuous part. In 1496, John Cabot, with two ships, sailed from England, having a commission from Henry VII. to discover unknown lands, and annex them to the British government. Directing his course for China, he fell in with Labrador, and coasted northwards to latitude 67. The next year he made a second voyage, and discovered Newfoundland and New England, traversing the coast to Florida.

Thus was New England discovered in the summer of 1497: but no attempt for a permanent settlement was made for more than a century after. A long night of obscurity covered this part of the American coast. The people of England were living at ease in the land of their nativity; the church was not prepared to fly for rest into this "wilderness;" or the guilt of the natives had not ripened them for those judgments, which finally swept them away in war and pestilence, to make room for the holy pilgrims, who were the fathers of New England.

New England, now the north-eastern grand division of the United States of America, lies in the form of a quarter of a circle around the great bay, or part of the Atlantic Ocean, which sets up to the north-west between Cape Cod and Cape Sable. It contains the states of Vermont, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, including Maine, Rhode Island, and Providence Plantations, and Connecticut; and is situated between 41° and 46° north latitude, and 1° 30' and 10° 15' east longitude from Philadelphia. Its extreme length from the north-east corner of Maine, to the south-west corner of Connecticut, is about 626 miles; its breadth is very unequal, from fifty to two hundred miles. It contains about 72,000 square miles. New England is bounded north, by Lower Canada; east, by the

British province of New Brunswick and the Atlantic Ocean; south, by the same Ocean and Long Island sound; and west, by the state of New York. Its west line begins at the mouth of Byram river, which empties into Long Island sound, at the south-west corner of Connecticut, north lat. 41°, and runs a little to the east of north till it strikes the 45th degree of lat. it then curves to the north-east along the highlands, till it reaches about the 48th degree of north latitude.

In 1605, Capt. Weymouth, in search of a passage to India discovered the Penobscot or the Kennebec river, and carried thence five of the natives to England. Three of these, Manida, Sketwarroes, and Tasquantum, were placed in the family of Ferdinando Gorges. They were docile and intelligent. Their account of the country gave a new impulse to the spirit of enterprise. Sir John Popham, Lord Chief Justice of King's Bench, with other noblemen and knights, styled the Plymouth Company, obtained a patent of North Virginia, of which the country afterwards called New England was a part. This company, in 1606, sent out Henry Chalong and Captain Prynne in two ships, for further discoveries in the country whence the savages had been brought, two of whom were on board with Chalong; but he was taken by the Spaniards, and carried to Spain. Prynne surveyed the coast, its rivers and harbours, and carried home such an account as produced a determination to send over a colony.

Accordingly, more than a hundred adventurers sailed from Plymouth in two ships, May 31, 1607, who, after falling in with the island of Monhigan, landed at the mouth of the Kennebec, then called the Sagadahoc, Aug. 11. The spot selected for a residence was on Parker's Island; they raised a fortification, and called it Fort St. George. They had brought two natives with them, who procured them a cordial welcome from different tribes. The emperor Bashaba at Penobscot, to whom the sachems west, as far as Naumkeeg, acknowledged subjection, sent his son to visit the president of the English colony, and to open a trade for furs. In December, the ships sailed for England, leaving forty-five persons; but their hard fare, the severity of a Kennebec winter, the burning of their store, and the death of their president, Popham, so discouraged them, that with the next vessel which arrived, they all returned to England. So rose and fell the first colony on this coast, within the compass of a year. The Norridgewog Indians have this tradition; that this company engaged a number

of Indians, who had come to trade with them, to draw a cannon by a long rope, that the moment they were ranged in a straight line, the white people discharged the piece, which killed and wounded a great number. Their story is, that the indignation of the natives for this barbarous treachery, compelled the company to embark to save their own lives.

From this time till 1620, no settlement was made on these shores; but while the Plymouth company were discouraged, Sir John Popham, and some others, carried on the fisheries, which produced considerable profit.

In April, 1614, Capt. John Smith, with two ships, commenced a voyage of discovery to the northern coasts of America; he first made the island of Monhigan, then computed to be in latitude $43^{\circ} 30'$, where he built seven boats, in one of which, with eight men, he ranged the coast from Penobscot to Cape Cod, entered and surveyed what is now called Massachusetts Bay, and made his observations on other parts of the coast. He discovered the Isles of Shoals, and called them Smith's Isles. The whole country he found was peopled by various tribes of Indians. After his return to England, he wrought these surveys and observations into a map, which he presented to Charles Prince of Wales, (afterwards King Charles I.) with a request that he would give a name to this newly explored country. Accordingly he gave his own name to the river which divides Boston from Charlestown, and to the whole country, that of NEW ENGLAND. When he sailed for England, he left Capt. Hunt behind to complete his cargo of fish, which he was to sell in Spain. Hunt, destitute of justice and humanity, decoyed twenty-four Indians on board, carried them to Spain, and there he sold them for slaves. This outrage on the laws of hospitality, was long resented by the inhabitants of the country.

About this period the emperor of Penobscot, with his family, was destroyed by the Tarratenes, a tribe east of the Penobscot, upon which a contest for the sovereignty rose among the sachems, and a bloody war raged throughout the empire. Immediately a terrible pestilence followed. By these two calamities were destroyed nineteen-twentieths of the natives on the shores of the Massachusetts. This disease was probably the yellow fever, the bodies of the people being "exceeding yellow, both before and after they died." Another circumstance is mentioned, which coincides with this opinion; foreigners were not susceptible of the contagion. Richard Vines and

crew, on a voyage of discovery, travelled into the country and lodged in their wigwams, but were not in the least degree affected, though the natives were dying in such numbers, that they could not be buried. It is known that *sometimes* strangers do not take the yellow fever where it is most malignant. Had it been the small pox, as some have supposed, these Europeans would certainly have taken it, unless they had had it before; if they had, they doubtless would have recognised the visible marks of the disease. On the spot first occupied by the fathers of New England, now the town of Plymouth, though before very populous, "every human being died of the pestilence." This account was easily credited, from the extent of the uncultivated fields, and the number of graves and human bones, which appeared. An extraordinary occurrence relative to this pestilence has been mentioned. "A French ship had been wrecked on Cape Cod; the men were saved with their provisions and goods. The natives kept their eyes on them till they found an opportunity to kill all but three or four, and divide their goods. The captives were sent from one tribe to another as slaves. One of them learned so much of their language as to tell them, that "God was angry with them for their cruelty, and would destroy them and give their country to another people." They answered that "they were too many for God to kill." He replied that "if they were ever so numerous, God had many ways to kill them, of which they were then ignorant." Afterwards, when this new and extraordinary pestilence came among them, they remembered the man's words, and when the Plymouth settlers arrived at Cape Cod, the few survivors imagined, that the other part of his prediction would soon be accomplished.

CHAP. II.

Rise of the Puritans—their Sufferings—Flight to Holland—Inconveniences there—Resolution to remove.

EVENTS in Europe, under the direction of Divine Providence, had for a long time been preparing the way for a colony of Christians in the wilds of America. The vine had been planted, which has long enriched her vallies and adorned her hills.

The first permanent settlement of New England, by a civilised and Christian people, was the effect of religious persecu-

6 *Rise and Sufferings of the Puritans.—Origin of their Name.*

tion. Soon after the commencement of the reformation in England, in the year 1534, the protestants were divided into two parties, one the followers of Luther, and the other of Calvin. The former had chosen gradually, and almost imperceptibly, to recede from the church of Rome; while the latter, more zealous, and convinced of the importance of a thorough reformation, and at the same time possessing much firmness, and high notions of religious liberty, were for effecting a thorough change at once. What the others had done, in the work of reformation, fell far short of their wishes. They still saw surplices, printed prayers, organs, bishops, and altars, with most of the pomp which had belonged to the papal church, and were but little impressed with the alterations of doctrines and creeds. Their plainness of dress, their gravity of deportment, the names of their children, borrowed from the scriptures, their daily religious conversation, their endeavours to expunge from the church all the inventions of men, and to introduce the "Scripture purity," acquired for them the name of **PURITANS**. From these the inhabitants of New England descended. The reasons assigned for leaving their own country, and settling in a wilderness were, "that the ancient faith and true worship might be found inseparable companions in their practice, and that their posterity might be undefiled in religion."

In the year 1602, a number of people in the counties of Nottinghamshire, Lancashire, and Yorkshire, by the preaching of the gospel, became savingly acquainted with the truth. Their ignorance, prejudices, and errors, were so far removed, that they saw the vanity of their former superstitions; they sought more evangelical instructions, and a *purer* church. A separation from the established church was the natural consequence. Shaking off their antichristian chains, they resolved, "whatever it should cost them," to enjoy liberty of conscience. On account of their distance from each other, they formed themselves into two churches. Of one, Mr. John Smith, a man of able gifts and a good preacher, became pastor; but these, adopting some errors, in the Low Countries, became neglected, and their history is unknown. Of the other, the history of which will constitute a considerable part of the following pages, the Rev. Richard Clifton, a man of grave deportment and a successful preacher, had the pastoral care. Many were hopefully converted under his ministrations. Mr. John Robinson was a member of this church, and after-

wards their pastor. Mr. William Brewster was an elder and preacher.

After they had separated from the establishment, on account of its retaining so much of popery, and had organised churches, having covenanted "to walk in all the ways of God made known, or to be made known to them, according to their best endeavours," the spirit of persecution rose like a flood with new fury. Beside the trial of cruel mockings, they were watched by officers; they were often imprisoned, or obliged to fly from their houses and means of subsistence. In this deplorable situation, with "joint consent," they resolved to go into the Low Countries, where, they heard, was freedom of religion for all men. Hard was their lot, to leave their dwellings, their lands, and relatives, to go they knew not whither, to obtain a living they knew not how. Having been employed only in agriculture, they were ignorant of the trades and business of the country which they had selected as the place of their exile. Though persecuted, they were not destroyed: though distressed, their zeal and courage did not forsake them; though in trouble, trusting in God, they were not dismayed. Still another affliction, more unreasonable, if possible, than any former one, stared them in the face. They could not stay in peace, nor were they allowed to depart. The strong arm of law had barred every harbour and vessel against them. They could effect their escape only by secret means, or by bribing the mariners, and then they were often betrayed, their property seized, and themselves punished. The following facts will shew how distressing and forlorn was their situation:

A large company, intending to embark at Boston, in Lincolnshire, hired a ship, agreed with the master to take them on board at a certain day, at an appointed place. They were punctual; he kept not the day, but finally came and received them on board in the night; then, having agreed beforehand with the searchers and other officers, he delivered the passengers and goods to them, who put them in boats, rifled and searched them "to their shirts," treating the women with indelicacy and rudeness, carried them back to the town, where they were spectacles of scorn to the multitude, who came to gaze. They were carried before the magistrates, they were imprisoned for a month; the greater part were then sent to the place whence they came; still some of the principal characters were kept in confinement, or bound over to the next assizes. Distressed, but still persevering, the next spring a

number of these, with some others, agreed with a Dutch captain to carry them to Holland. He was to take them from a large common between Grimsby and Hull, a place remote from any town. The women, children, and goods, were sent to the place in a small barque; the men travelled by land; but the barque arriving a day before the ship, and the sea being rough, and the women very sick, the seamen put into a small creek. The next morning the ship came, but the barque was aground. That no time might be lost, the captain sent his boat to receive some of the men, who were on shore. As the boat was returning for more, the captain saw a great company of horse and foot, coming armed from the country; at which he weighed anchor, hoisted sail, and having a fair wind was soon out of sight. The men on board were thus separated from their wives and children, without a change of garments, or money in their pockets. Tears flowed, but tears were vain. Soon after, they were tossed in a storm and driven on the coast of Norway. They saw neither sun, moon, nor stars, for seven days. The mariners despaired of relief, and once they supposed the ship actually going down; with shrieks and cries, they exclaimed *We sink, we sink*, the water overflowing them to their mouths; yet the Puritan passengers, in this scene of horror and desperation, without any great distraction, cried, "Yet, Lord, thou canst save; yet, Lord, thou canst save;" with other similar expressions; when the ship soon recovered herself, and the fury of the storm abated.

But to return to the people on shore. The men escaped, excepting those who voluntarily stayed to assist the women and children. Here was a moving scene of distress; husbands fled; husbands and fathers carried to a foreign country; children crying with fear and shivering with cold! What could sustain the mother's breaking heart? Charity and humanity would have cheered the weeping throng! but these heavenly spirits were not here. Persecution raised her voice terrible as death; she hurried them from one place to another, from one officer to another, till all were tired of their victory. To imprison so many innocent women and children would have excited public odium; homes they had none, for they had disposed of them: they were glad to be rid of them on any terms. From these sufferings they received advantage. Their meekness and christian deportment made a favourable and deep impression on the hearts of many spectators, which produced considerable accessions to their number. But by courage and

perseverance they all finally crossed the sea, and united with their friends, according to the desire of their hearts, in grateful praises to God.

In Holland they saw the bustle of business, the splendour of cities, and the independence of amazing wealth: poverty, however, arrested them with the strength of an armed man. Mr. Robinson and Brewster arriving, who were the last, having like valiant generals remained to see the feeblest safe on board, they arranged their church affairs in regular order, and continued about a year at Amsterdam. Mr. Robinson and some others, seeing the evils in which the other English church under Mr. Smith were involved, thought it prudent to remove to Leyden. Though they expected less employment and profit here than in the capital, they were cheerful in this sacrifice of worldly good, in hopes of being more free from temptations, and enjoying more uninterruptedly the blessings of the gospel.

Religion was always the first object in all their calculations and arrangements. Engaging in such trades and employments as they could execute, they soon rose to a comfortable living. They had great comfort in each other's society, great satisfaction in the ordinances of the gospel, under the able ministry and prudent government of Mr. Robinson and Brewster. They grew in gifts and graces; "they lived in peace, and love, and holiness;" numbers came to them from England; they had a great congregation, and at one time three hundred communicants. If at any time sparks of contention were kindled, they were immediately quenched; or if any one proved obstinate, he was excommunicated; but this rarely happened. Perhaps this church approached as near the pattern of apostolic churches as any since the first ages of Christianity; and this has been its general character to the present time. Their integrity and piety procured them esteem and confidence in a land of strangers. Though they were poor, when they wished to borrow money, the Dutch would readily take their word, because they always found them punctual to fulfil their engagements. They saw them incessantly laborious in their callings, and therefore preferred them as customers; they found them honest, and therefore gave the preference to their work. Just before these fathers of New England left the city, the magistrates, from the seat of justice, gave this honorable testimony of their worth. In addressing the Walloons, who were the French church, "these English," say they, "have lived among us now these twelve years, and yet we ne-

ver had one suit or action come against them; but your strifes and quarrels are continual."

Having one great object, the interest of religion, constantly impressed on their minds, pursuing it with unabating ardour, it was natural for them to think of changing their residence, as new and favourable prospects opened before them. Great minds pursue great objects; as their means increase, their views expand. Having enjoyed the comforts of evangelical instruction from the courtesy of strangers, they were unwilling to possess so precious a jewel by so precarious a tenure. Their removal, therefore, was not the effect of a fickle disposition, but the result of undaunted perseverance for the attainment of an end, which absorbed all other considerations.

Other reasons, more imperious, enforced the measure. They found that but few, comparatively, came to them from their native country, and that fewer still remained with them. They loved their cause, approved their magnanimity, but after making the trial themselves, they could not endure the excessive labour, the hard fare, and other inconveniences to which all were obliged to submit. Many preferred prisons in England, to liberty in Holland, accompanied with such sufferings. It was supposed, that if a place of more comfortable living could be found, great numbers would flock to them. Mr. Robinson used to say that, "many in England, who then wrote and preached against them, would conduct themselves as they did, if they had liberty and could live comfortably." Many found that they were growing old or decrepit without any property for their support. Not only themselves and servants, but their children also, were obliged to labour beyond their strength, their vigour of life consuming before it was mature. Others they saw overcome by the temptations of the place, or going from them as soldiers or sailors. These were distressing events to affectionate, religious parents.

They were also animated with the hope of carrying the gospel of salvation to Pagan countries, and of saving many souls ready to perish. The business was the subject of much conversation. Some urged and encouraged their companions to the undertaking. Others proposed very serious and weighty objections. Their want of property sufficient for such an enterprise, the dangers of the voyage, the cruelty of the savages, and improbability of finding subsistence in a world of forests, were mentioned with deep conviction of their reality. To these things it was replied, that all great achievements were at-

tended with great difficulties, and required corresponding courage and zeal. It was acknowledged that the obstacles were great, but not invincible; the dangers formidable, but not desperate. Some of the evils, though probable, they conceived were not certain; others they hoped to conquer or bear with fortitude. It was also urged that the twelve years truce was expired; that war between the Dutch and Spaniards would greatly endanger them; that the beating of drums and the alarm and parade of war, which had already begun, shewed them what to expect: that the conquering Spaniard might prove as cruel as the savage: and the famine and pestilence of war be as dreadful as the woods of America; that they were exiles, their condition miserable, their dangers imminent, and something must be done. "It was therefore fully concluded by the major part to put the design in execution, and prosecute it by the best means in their power."

CHAP. III.

Measures adopted for removing—Their voyage—They land at Cape Cod.

HAVING resolved on a removal, the first measure they adopted was a meeting for prayer, to seek direction and assistance from God. A general conference was then held to consult on the subject, and determine to what particular place they should remove. Some, and those not the least respectable, preferred Guiana, in South America, on account of the warmth of the climate, the fertility of the soil, and the ease with which the inhabitants might be supported. To these arguments were objected, the unhealthiness of all hot countries, and the hostility of the Spaniards. The objection against Virginia was, that they should be exposed to the persecution of the English government, without the privilege of its protection: finally, it was concluded to live in a distinct body by themselves, under the general government of Virginia, and "by their friends to sue his Majesty for liberty and freedom of religion." This they were encouraged to hope they should obtain by the agency of some persons of rank and quality, who were their friends.

Two persons were then chosen and sent to England, at the expense of the associated exiles, to make application to the Virginia company, whom they found ready to grant them a

patent with as ample privileges as they had themselves, and to afford them all the assistance in their power. The principal persons of the company doubted not but the king would grant their request as to freedom of religion. But this was found impossible. Though the leading members of the Virginia company, with their friends, and one of the chief secretaries of state, urged the king, and others made application to the archbishop, all was vain. The king intimated that he would not disturb them in their religion, while they conducted themselves peaceably. This hope of his connivance was all they could obtain. The Virginia company presuming they would not be troubled, urged them to proceed. The agents returned to Holland; some were discouraged, but they finally concluded to proceed, "resting on God's providence, as they had done in other things." Upon this resolution Mr. Robert Cushman and John Carver were sent to conclude the business with the Virginia Company, to obtain as good a patent as they could, and agree with such merchants and friends as were disposed to encourage the voyage. Written instructions were given them, beyond which they were not to proceed without further advice. New difficulties occurring, these agents returned to Holland to confer with their brethren. After a long and troublesome negotiation, which began in 1617, the patent was obtained in 1619: yet God so ordered their affairs that this patent, which had cost them so much expense, labour, and anxiety, should never be of the least advantage to them. So precarious are the most sanguine hopes of man.

Having received the patent, and proposals from the merchants and friends on whom they depended for assistance, they began to "prepare themselves with all speed." A ship of 60 tons was hired in Holland, and another of 180 in England. All things being in readiness for their departure from Leyden, they kept a day of solemn humiliation and prayer. Their pastor preached from Ezra. viii. 21. "Then I proclaimed a fast at the river Ahava, that we might afflict ourselves before our God, to seek of him a right way for us and for our little ones, and for all our substance." The time being come that they must depart, they were accompanied by most of their brethren several miles to Delft Haven, where the ship waited to receive them. Now they left, to see it no more, the pleasant city of Leyden, which had been their hiding place for twelve years. They found the ship and all things ready. Friends from Leyden, who could not come with them, followed and

arrived before their departure. Their friends from Amsterdam came to take their leave and see them embark. The night was spent with little sleep, but with friendly entertainment, and christian discourse, and real expressions of purest love. The next day the wind was fair; they went on board, their friends with them. Distressing was the sight of that sad and mournful parting. The sighs, and sobs, and prayers, which burst from every lip, would have melted the coldest heart; tears gushed from every eye; the kindest speeches were stifled by unutterable tenderness of soul. The Dutch strangers, who were present, could not refrain from weeping. Charming was the sight of such unfeigned love; but the tide, which waits for no man, called them away; the moment was overwhelming. Their pastor fell on his knees, and they all with him, with watery cheeks, commended themselves with most fervent prayer to God for his blessing; then, with mutual embraces and many tears, they took leave of one another. To many this proved the last farewell. A prosperous gale bore them soon to the English shore. At Southampton they found the larger ship, and the rest of their company, ready to sail for America.

After their parting, Mr. Robinson wrote a letter to Mr. John Carver, and another to the company, both full of affection and confidence in their wisdom and goodness, with the most salutary advice. He assures Mr. Carver of his affection and sympathy, and expresses his confidence that those comforts, which he had administered to others, would be more than sufficient to sustain his own mind under all its cares and sufferings; especially as he would enjoy "the presence of so many godly and wise brethren," whose entire good will he would possess. He promises to seize "the first opportunity of hastening to them."

In addressing his church he says, "I am present in my best affections and most earnest longings after you. God knows how willingly and much rather than otherwise, I would have borne my first part with you in this first brunt, were I not held back by strong necessity. Make account of me in the mean time, as a man divided in himself with great pain, having my better part with you. And though I doubt not your godly wisdom, I think it my duty to add some words of advice; if not because you need it, yet because I owe it in love and duty." He proceeds to give them the most affectionate and salutary advice. He urges them to repentance for all known sins, and

generally for all that are unknown, lest God should swallow them up in his judgments. He then exhorts them to peace with one another, and with all men; to be careful not to give or receive offence; warning them that none were more apt to give offence, than those who were easily offended themselves, and that such never proved to be good members of society. He exhorts them to have a proper regard for the general good, to avoid as "a deadly plague, all private respect for themselves," and to shew a due respect and obedience to the magistrates they should elect to rule over them. He concludes by observing, that he would "not so far wrong their godly minds as to think them heedless of other things, which he could say." This letter of Mr. Robinson's was read to the company before they left Southampton, and very gratefully received; afterwards it produced the most happy effects. A governor and two or three assistants being chosen for each ship, they sailed from the old for the new world, August 5, 1629. New calamities now befel them; one of their vessels sprung a leak, and they were obliged to return, and make repairs; again they sailed, and again were they beaten back, and obliged to leave their small vessel. Being all crowded into one ship, they put to sea again, Sept. 6; but a dreadful storm opposed their passage, and they seriously contemplated relinquishing the voyage, and returning home again. These repeated disasters gave them full opportunity of deliberately "counting the cost" of their designs, of estimating and feeling their dangers and distresses, of comparing them with the value of those religious privileges, which were the object of all these daring enterprises, of all these overwhelming sufferings. Never did martyrs dying for their religion and their Saviour, have such ample time for cool reflexion, to form a deliberate judgment, and to examine the rock on which they built their hopes of eternal felicity. In their native country their sufferings had been great and of long duration, not less than five or six years, full time to reflect and recant. In Holland, for twelve or thirteen years, they had endured trials and labours, which had exhausted their strength and produced a premature old age. Their disasters would have justified them in relinquishing their object. Still, however, they persevered, still they pursued their design with unappalled resolution. Every time they turned their course towards the American coast, it was a new demonstration of the reality, the infinite value, and the invincible energy of the Christian religion, when it reigns in the hearts of good

men. Was there ever an object presented to mankind, which was calculated more powerfully to persuade them to believe the *gospel*, than this company of holy puritans, sailing the stormy ocean in search of a place to worship God in peace and purity of conscience? Must not that religion be from heaven which could sooth, and support, and comfort, and animate people in circumstances so painful and hazardous? Nor were these daring efforts prompted by the passion of the moment; they had been repeated and continued for eighteen years. They were not the meteors, which blaze, dazzle, and expire, but the sun shining in his strength to enlighten the world.

After being tossed more than two months on the stormy ocean, they descried on the ninth of November, the bleak and barren shores of Cape Cod. Two days after they anchored in Cape Cod harbour. It was their intention to have settled at the mouth of Hudson's river; but the Dutch, intending to plant a colony of their own, privately hired the master of the ship to contrive delays in England, and then to conduct them to these northern coasts, and there, under the pretence of shoals and winter, to discourage them from venturing to the place of destination. This is confidently asserted by the historians of that time. Although Cape Cod harbour, in which they first anchored, was good, the country around was sandy and barren. These were discouraging circumstances; but the season being far advanced, they prudently determined to make the best of their present situation. As they were not within the limits of the patent, and consequently not under the jurisdiction of the Virginia company, and having some factious persons among them, in the capacity of servants, who possessed a portion of the modern spirit of liberty and equality, and who had intimated that when on shore they should be under no government, and that one man would then be as good as another, the more judicious thought it necessary to establish a separate government for themselves.

Accordingly, before they landed, having devoutly given thanks to God for their safe arrival, they formed themselves into a body-politic, under the following covenant or contract, which they all subscribed, and made the basis of their government.

"In the name of God, amen. We whose names are under written, the loyal subjects of our Dread Sovereign Lord, King James, by the grace of God, of Great Britain, France and Ireland, king, defender of the faith, &c. Having undertaken, for the

glory of God, and the advancement of the christian faith, and honour of our king and country, a voyage, to plant the first colony in the northern parts of Virginia; do by these presents solemnly, and mutually, in the presence of God, and of one another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil body-politic, for our better ordering and preservation and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and by virtue hereof to enact, constitute, and frame such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions, and offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general good of the colony; unto which we promise all due submission and obedience: In witness whereof we have here under subscribed our names at Cape Cod, the 11th of November, in the year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord, King James, of England, France and Ireland, the eighteenth, and of Scotland the fifty-fourth: Anno Domini, 1620."

This instrument was signed by twenty-four heads of families, with the number in their respective families annexed, and seventeen single men, making in the whole one hundred and one souls. Afterwards by an unanimous vote, they chose John Carver their governor for one year. Having thus established and organized their government, in its form truly republican, their next object was to fix on a convenient place for settlement. In doing this, they were obliged to encounter numerous difficulties, and to suffer incredible hardships. Many of them were sick in consequence of the fatigue of a long voyage. Their provisions were bad, the season uncommonly cold, and they unacquainted with the coast.

Immediately after their landing, they fell on their knees, "with hearty praises to God who had been their assurances, when far off on the sea." They were truly in a new world. They saw whales sporting in the water; oaks, pines, sassafras, juniper, and other sweet wood, shaded their harbour, and a greater plenty of fowl, than they had ever seen, flew around them. Few particulars of their voyage have been preserved. "The people were close stowed, continually wet, the vessel leaky, one person died, and one child was born, named Oceanus."

CHAP. IV.

Excursions for Discovery—A Child born—Another Voyage for Discovery—Attacked by Indians—Discover the Place which they afterwards named Plymouth—Two Men left—Capt. Standish elected Commander in Chief—Dreadful Winter—Mortality—An Indian visits them—Treaty with Massasoit.

THE same day they landed they sent forth an armed party to make discoveries, who returned at night, having found nothing but water, wood, and sand hills. The next day was the sabbath, and they all rested. On Monday the men went on shore to refresh themselves, the women to wash, attended by a guard, and the carpenter began to repair the shallop for coasting. On Wednesday, Capt. Miles Standish took a party of sixteen men, well armed, and went to make further discoveries. About a mile from the sea they saw five savages, who fled. They pursued them about ten miles, but night coming on, they placed sentinels, kindled a fire, and rested quietly through the night. In the morning they continued the pursuit as far as Pamet River, without discovering inhabitants or habitations; they returned as far as a pond of fresh water in Traro, and lodged there that night. In the course of the day, in one place, they found several heaps of sand, one of which was covered with old mats, and an earthen pot at one end; on digging they found a bow and arrows; presuming it was a grave, they replaced every thing. In another place they found an old iron kettle, and near it another pile of sand, in which was buried three or four bushels of Indian corn. They hesitated, but finally took the kettle and a part of the corn, resolving if ever they found the owners to return the kettle, and pay them for the corn. They afterwards discovered the owners, and liberally paid them. The corn was in a basket handsomely made. Afterwards they found a place fortified with palisadoes. They were also amused with a trap to catch deer, in which one of them was caught without harm. The next day they returned, and were joyfully received by their companions.

The corn which they found was the first fruit of the land to them, and incalculably important. Snow overing the ground immediately after, it was impossible to find any more, and without seed they could have had no harvest the next

year. As soon as the shallop was ready, a party was sent in her to examine the shore, but they found no place, which pleased them, for a settlement. They brought away the rest of the corn they had before discovered, and found some graves, and two wigwams, but saw no Indians. About this time Mrs. White was delivered of a son, who was named Peregrine. He was the first English child born in New England. He died July, 1704, aged 84.

On Wednesday, December the 6th, they set out upon a fourth expedition for discovery. The ground had been several days covered with snow, and the weather was extremely cold; the water freezing on their clothes, made them stiff as coats of mail; two persons were already sick. The first day they saw ten or twelve Indians, who fled; a number made a fire and slept in the woods the first night, whence they saw the smoke of the fires kindled by the Indians. The next day, after passing some corn fields, they discovered a curious burying yard, encompassed with palisadoes, driven close together, while some of the individual graves within were fenced in the same manner; they returned to the shallop at night. About midnight they were alarmed by the centinel, and fired two guns, but saw no enemy. At five in the morning, after they had prayed together, there was again a cry of *Indians! Indians!* when a shower of arrows was poured upon them, attended with savage yells, terrible to the English. But the report of guns was equally novel and terrific to the Indians, who soon fled. Their arrows, which were taken up and sent to Europe as curiosities, were pointed with brass, and deer's horn, and eagle's claws. Thence, after coasting further in vain, they directed their course for a harbour their pilot had mentioned. After great dangers in a storm, they landed on Clark's island, and rested all night; the next day, being Saturday, they concluded to tarry over the sabbath, which they passed in a religious manner.

The 17th of December, they discovered the place where Plymouth now stands, of which they gave the following account, after examining the harbour and vicinity several days. The first day they marched into the land, "they found corn-fields and little running brooks, a place very good for situation. Returning to the ship, the good news comforted their hearts. The bay is encompassed with good land, and in it are two fine islands, on which are nothing but woods, oaks, pines, walnut, beech, sassafras, vines, and other trees which we know not."

"The bay is a most hopeful place, with innumerable fowls and fish." The 18th they continued to explore the country, well pleased. "The 20th of December, after landing and viewing the places again as well as they could, they came to a conclusion, by most voices, to settle on the main land, on the high ground, which had been planted with corn, three or four years before, where is a sweet brook and many delicate springs of good water." This night they remained on shore, twenty in number. But a storm rising, it was so tempestuous for two days, that there was no intercourse between the people on shore and those in the vessel.

Saturday the 23d, they began to cut timber and provide materials for building. This business found them employment, when the weather would permit, till about the 19th of February. The single persons united with the families, which were nineteen in all. Each family built its own cottage; but they all engaged in building a store house twenty feet square, for common use. From the time of their arrival on the coast till the day of their permanent landing, the weather was unusually stormy and severe. The men, who were employed in exploring the harbours to find the best place for settlement, were exposed to extreme hardships from watchings and fastings, wet and cold. Here we find one cause of the mortal sickness which afterwards prevailed. During the month of December, six of their number died, and many others sickened of grievous colds, of which they never recovered.

On the Lord's day, the 31st of December, they, for the first time, attended public worship on shore, and named the place **PLYMOUTH**, partly because the harbour had been so named by Captain Smith, and partly from gratitude for the kind treatment they had received at Plymouth, the last port from which they sailed in England. The rock on which they first stepped has been divided, and one part of it placed in the centre of the town, where it is known by the name of "Fore-father's Rock."

The anniversary of their landing has been observed by their immediate descendants at Plymouth, as a religious festival. A discourse is delivered adapted to the occasion; after public worship, more forcibly to impress their minds with the circumstances of their meritorious forefathers, clams, fish, ground nut, and victims from the forest, constitute a part of their grateful repast. For a number of years the same anniversary

has been celebrated in Boston by the descendants of the Plymouth pilgrims, and others. Here too the festal board displays the style of other times: treasures which had been hidden in the sand, and game from the woods mingle with other provisions of the table. It is a festival rational, and happy in its tendency. It reminds the guests of the virtues and sufferings of their fathers; by a comparison of circumstances it excites transports of gratitude, elevates the affections, and mends the heart.

On the 12th of January, John Goodman and Peter Brown, walking into the woods to gather thatch, lost themselves; after wandering all the afternoon they were obliged, though slenderly clothed, to make the ground their bed; it snowed, and the cold was severe. Their distress in the night was increased by hearing, as they supposed, three lions roaring; one of which they thought was very near them. In their terror they resolved to climb a tree, though an intolerably cold lodging place. They stood ready to ascend when the lions should come, and continued walking round the tree all night, which probably saved their lives. In the afternoon, from a hill, they saw the islands in Plymouth harbour, and in the evening reached their friends, fainting with hunger and cold. Goodman's feet were so frozen that they were obliged to cut off his shoes. Not only these, but many of the first settlers imagined they heard lions roar. The wolf is not known in England, and it is not strange they should mistake his howlings for the roaring of a lion, which was also a creature unknown to them. Wood says, "I will not say that I ever saw lions myself, but some affirm they have seen a lion at Cape Ann. Some, likewise, being lost in the woods, have heard such terrible roarings as have made them much aghast, which must be either lions or devils, there being no other creatures, which use to roar."

In February they had time to arrange their military concerns. MILES STANDISH was chosen Captain, and received authority to command in military affairs. The 3d of March they found that the winter was past, "the birds sung in the woods most pleasantly," it thundered, and there was a steady rain. For this climate, the winter, providentially, had been remarkably mild. Still it was a dismal winter to them. Never did human beings suffer more, nor display greater fortitude and christian magnanimity.

The whole company that landed consisted of but one hun-

dred and one souls; their situation was distressing, and their prospects truly dismal and discouraging. Their nearest neighbours, except the natives, were the Dutch settlers at Albany and Bergen, a French settlement at Port Royal, and one of the English at Virginia; the nearest of these was two hundred miles from them, and utterly incapable of affording them any relief in a time of famine or danger. Wherever they turned their eyes, distress was before them. Persecuted for their religion in their native land; grieved for the profanation of the holy sabbath, and other licentiousness in Holland; fatigued by their long and boisterous voyage; disappointed, through the treachery of their commander, of their expected country; forced on a dangerous and inhospitable shore in the advance of a cold winter; surrounded with hostile barbarians, without any hope of human succour in case of an attack; denied the aid or favour of the court of England; without a patent; without a public promise of a peaceable enjoyment of their religious liberties; worn out with toil and sufferings; without convenient shelter from the rigour of the weather. Such was the situation, and such the prospects of these pious solitary christians. And to add to their distresses, a general and very mortal sickness prevailed among them, which swept off forty-six of their number, before the opening of the next spring. Some part of the time two and three died in a day. At times there were not five well enough to nurse the sick. To support them under these trials, they had need of all the aids and comforts which christianity affords, and these were sufficient. The free and unmolested enjoyment of their religion reconciled them to their humble and lonely situation. They bore their hardships with unexampled patience, and persevered in their pilgrimage of almost unparalleled trials, with such resignation and calmness, as gave proof of great piety, and unconquerable virtue. Immediately after landing, they began to lay out the town into streets, and lots, and to erect buildings for their accommodation. They first erected a store house with a thatched roof, in which they deposited, under a guard, their whole stock of ammunition and provisions. On the 14th of January, the thatched roof of the store house accidentally caught fire, and was consumed; but by the timely exertions of the people, the lower part of the building with its contents, which were indispensable to the support of the infant colony, was preserved.

On the 3d of November, 1620, King James, being informed

that an extensive country in America had lately been depopulated by a mortal sickness, and that no part of it was then inhabited by the subjects of any christian prince, and being desirous to advance the christian religion, and extend the boundaries of his own dominions, signed a patent, incorporating the Duke of Lenox, the Marquisses of Buckingham and Hamilton, the earls of Arundel and Warwick, Sir Francis Gorges, with thirty-four others and their successors, styling them, "The council established at Plymouth, in the county of Devon, for the planting, ruling, ordering, and governing, of New England in America." To this council he granted all that part of America which lies between the 40th and 48th degrees of north latitude. They were invested with powers of jurisdiction over the country, and authorized to exclude all others from trading within their boundaries, and from fishing in the neighbouring seas. This charter was the great *civil basis* of all the subsequent grants and patents to the settlers of New England. "This charter, (says Minot, the correct historian of Massachusetts) from the omissions of several powers necessary to the future situation of the colony, shews how inadequate the ideas of the parties were to the important consequences which were about to follow from such an act. The governor, with the assistants and freemen of the company, it is true, were empowered to make all laws not repugnant to those of England; but the power of imposing fines, imprisonment, or other lawful correction, is expressly given in the manner of other corporations of the realm; and the general circumstances of the settlement, and the practice of the times, can leave us no doubt that this body politic was viewed rather as a trading company, residing within the kingdom, than what it very soon became, a foreign government exercising all the essentials of sovereignty over its subjects.

In 1623, December 30, the council of New England, "for and in respect of the good and special service done by Ferdinando Gorges, knight, to the plantation, from the first attempt thereof, and also for many other causes hereunto moving, and likewise for and in consideration of the payment of one hundred and sixty pounds into the hands of our treasurer by Robert Gorges, son of the said Ferdinando Gorges, granted and confirmed unto the said Robert Gorges, his heirs and assigns for ever, all that part of the main land in New England, aforesaid, commonly called or known by the name of Massachusetts lying on the north east of the bay called Massachusetts,

together with all the coasts and shores along the sea for ten English miles, in a straight line towards the north-east, and thirty English miles into the main land through all the breadth aforesaid, with all the islands within three miles of the main, excepting such as have been granted to others."

On the 16th of March, 1621, the inhabitants at Plymouth were alarmed at seeing a sturdy Indian walk into their settlement, and passing by the houses, go directly where the people were collected. He saluted them in broken English, and bid them welcome. He was affable, told them his dwelling was five days travel from thence, that he was a sagamore or prince. He understood the geography of the country, gave an account of the different tribes, their sagamores, and number of men. He had been acquainted with the English, who had taken fish at Monhigan, and knew the names of their captains. He was naked, excepting a leather belt about his waist, with a fringe a span wide. He had a bow and two arrows; was tall and straight, his hair long behind, and short before. They kindly entertained him, and gave him a horseman's coat. He tarried all night, and informed them that the place where they were, was Patuxet, and that about four years before, all the inhabitants had died; that not a man, woman, or child survived. He received, on going away, a knife, a bracelet, and ring, and promised in a few days to return again. He returned according to promise, and brought five others with him. They sung and danced, and were very friendly and familiar.

The 22nd of March, their first visitant, Samoset, came again and brought Squanto, or Tisquantum, with him, who had been carried away by Hunt, and sold in Spain, whence he got to London, and thence to America. He, by this event, escaped the universal mortality of his tribe at Patuxet. Three others accompanied them, and gave information that Massasoit was near. He soon appeared on the top of a hill with sixty men. Mr. Edward Winslow was sent to treat with him, carrying to the king two knives and a copper chain, with a jewel in it; to Quadequina, his brother, a knife, a jewel for his ear, "a pot of strong water," some biscuit and butter. After their acceptance of the presents, and saluting them with love and peace, and receiving them as allies, they were desired to visit the governor; when the king, with twenty attendants, proceeded to the governor, leaving their bows and arrows, Mr. Winslow remaining with the rest, as a hostage; the English keeping six or seven of them. Capt. Standish and Mr.

Williamson, with half a dozen soldiers, met the king at the brook, and conducted him and his train to the governor, who met them at a house appointed, with drum and trumpet sounding, and other military parade. A green rug, and three or four cushions, were spread for the company. The governor kissed the king's hand, and the king his, and both sat down. "Strong water," was then given the king, "who drank a great draught, that made him sweat all the while after." Victuals was then set before them: when Massasoit, one of the most powerful sagamores of the neighbouring Indians, entered into a formal and very friendly treaty, wherein they agreed to avoid injuries on both sides, to punish offenders, to restore stolen goods, to assist each other in all justifiable wars, to promote peace among their neighbours, &c. Massasoit and his successors for fifty years, inviolably observed this treaty. The English are much indebted to this chief for his friendship, and his memory will ever be respected in New England. Massasoit returned, but Squanto continued at Plymouth, and was extremely useful as their interpreter, and their pilot to different parts of the coast. He taught them how to cultivate Indian corn, and where to take fish. The Narragansets, disliking the conduct of Massasoit, declared war against him; which occasioned much confusion and fighting among the Indians. The Plymouth colony interposed in favour of Massasoit, their good ally, and terminated the dispute to the terror of their enemies. Even Canonicus himself, the terrific sachem of the Narragansets, sued for peace.

In April of this year George Carver, while engaged in labour, with the rest of the settlers, was seized with a pain in his head, which shortly after deprived him of his senses, and, in a few days, of his life, to the great grief of these afflicted people. He was buried with all the honours in their power to bestow. Of this gentleman the following character is given by his biographer. "He was a man of great prudence, integrity, and firmness of mind. He had a good estate in England, which he left in the emigration to Holland and America. He was one of the foremost in action, and bore a large share of sufferings in the service of the colony, who confided in him as their friend and father. Piety, humility, and benevolence, were eminent traits in his character; and it is particularly remarked that in the time of general sickness, which befel the colony, and with which he was affected, after he had himself recovered, he was assiduous in attending the sick,

and performing the most humiliating services for them, without any distinction of persons or characters." He was succeeded by William Bradford, then in the thirty-third year of his age, a man of "wisdom, piety, fortitude, and goodness of heart," and on these accounts much respected and beloved by the people. Isaac Allerton was chosen his assistant in the administration of government. One of the first official acts of Governor Bradford was to send an embassy to Massasoit; His objects were to explore the country, to carry presents, and confirm the league with that chief; to survey his situation and strength, to establish a friendly intercourse, and to procure seed corn for the next season.

Edward Winslow and Stephen Hopkins, with Squanto for their guide, composed this embassy. This sachem lived about 40 miles southward of Plymouth. As they passed through the country, they observed the marks of the ravages which the pestilence had made a few years before. They were received with friendship, and accomplished the business of their mission to the satisfaction of the governor. The prudent and upright conduct of the Plymouth colony toward the Indians, secured their friendship and alliance. Through the influence of Massasoit, nine of the petty sachems in his neighbourhood, who were jealous of the new colonists, and disposed to give them trouble, came to Plymouth, and voluntarily subscribed the following instrument of submission to the king of England, viz. "September 13th, A. D. 1621. Know all men by these presents, that we whose names are underwritten, do acknowledge ourselves to be the loyal subjects of King James, king of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. In witness whereof, and as a testimonial of the same, we have subscribed our names or marks as followeth:

1 <i>Ohquamehud,</i>	4 <i>Nattawakunt,</i>	7 <i>Quadequina,</i>
2 <i>Cawnacome,</i>	5 <i>Caunbatant,</i>	8 <i>Huttamoiden,</i>
3 <i>Obbatinua,</i>	6 <i>Chickatabak,</i>	9 <i>Apan-ow."</i>

Hobbamack, another of these subordinate chiefs, came and took up his residence at Plymouth, where he continued as a faithful guide and interpreter as long as he lived. The Indians of the islands of Capawock, which had now obtained the name of Martha's or Martin's Vineyard, also sent messengers of peace. These transactions are so many proofs of the peaceful and benevolent disposition of the Plymouth settlers.

In September (1621) Governor Bradford sent ten men, with

Squanto, in a shallop to explore the bay, now called Massachusetts; they found that the islands in this bay had been cleared of wood, that they had been planted, but were now almost without inhabitants. The few who remained received them very hospitably, expressing great fears of the Tarateens, a people at the eastward, who often came and robbed them of their corn, and many times killed some of their people. The superior fertility of the islands in the bay made them wish they had settled there. Having very happily recovered their health, they began to repair their cottages before winter. They also in October, gathered in their harvest. Their English grain was poor, but their corn was very good, and they had plenty of fish and fowl, and were very happy.

CHAP. V.

Increase of their Number—Sufferings—a Massacre of Virginians, —Duel—Squanto dies—Lands purchased—Visit to Massachusetts, who is sick—Patent obtained—first Cattle in New England—Death and Character of Mr. Robinson.

IN November, a ship, with thirty five passengers, arrived from England. Unfortunately for the little colony, the ship was short of provisions, and the colonists, out of their scanty pittance, were obliged to victual her home. In consequence, before the next spring, they were reduced to great straits, and obliged for some time to subsist on fish and spring water, being for two or three months destitute of bread. To heighten their distresses the Narraganset chief, Canonicus, threatened the peace of the colony by a message sent in "the emblematical style of the ancient Scythians, viz. a bundle of arrows bound with the skin of a serpent." They returned the skin filled with powder and ball, which had the desired effect. Afraid of its contents, the chief returned it unopened, and remained quiet. About this time a part of the colony of Virginia was surprised and massacred by the Indians. From this circumstance, and the hostile disposition of the Narragansets, the colonists, feeble as they were from famine, found it expedient to fortify their town; accordingly, they surrounded it with a stockade and four flankarts, divided their company into four squadrons, and alternately kept guard day and night. Their guns were mounted on a kind of citadel erected on the top of the town

hill, with a flat roof; the lower story of which served them for a place of worship.

The practise of *duelling*, which has never prevailed in New England, was introduced by two servants, who quarrelled, and fought with *sword* and *dagger*. Both were wounded, neither mortally. For this disgraceful conduct, they were formally tried before the whole company, and sentenced to have "their heads and feet tied together, and so to remain twenty-four hours, without meat or drink." In consequence of their penitence, a part of their punishment was remitted.

The summer of 1622 being dry, and the harvest scanty, the colonists were obliged to seek a supply from the Indians. Governor Bradford, with the friendly and faithful Squanto for his guide and interpreter, made an excursion for this purpose, during which, Squanto fell sick and died. On his death bed he requested the governor to pray for him, that he might "go to the Englishman's God in heaven." This Indian deserves to have his name recorded with honour, in the history of New England. Forgetting the perfidy of those, who, by artifice, had made him a prisoner and a slave, he became a hearty friend of the English, and so continued till his death, rendering them in various ways most essential services. Though faithful to the English, he had his share of art, cunning, and dishonesty. He would often send word privately to the Indians that the English were coming to kill them, but assuring them, at the same time, that he had influence to persuade them to peace. By these means he not only obtained large presents, but raised himself to such importance in view of his countrymen, that they sought to him as a protector, and he became more respected than their sachems. He also, to give consequence to the English and himself, informed the natives that the English kept the plague buried in a cellar, which was their magazine of powder, which they could send forth to the destruction of any people, while they remained at home themselves.

Governor Bradford was treated with great respect by the several tribes which he visited, and the trade was conducted, on both sides, with confidence and justice. He purchased in the whole twenty-eight hogsheads of corn, for which he paid in goods received from England. The right to the lands settled by the English colonists, was early purchased from or given by the Indian proprietors. How great a part of New England was thus fairly obtained from the Indians, cannot be ascertained. There is evidence to believe, however, that a large

proportion of the soil was purchased, at what was then considered an equitable price.

In the spring of 1623, Massasoit fell sick, and sent intelligence of it to the governor, who immediately sent Mr. Winslow, and Mr. John Hampden, (the same man who afterwards distinguished himself by his opposition to the arbitrary and unjust demands of Charles I.) to pay him a visit. They carried with them presents, and some cordials for his relief. Their visit and presents were very consolatory to the venerable chief, and were the means of his recovery. In return for their kindness, he informed them of a dangerous conspiracy among the neighbouring Indians, the object of which was the total extermination of the English. By means of this timely discovery, and the consequent spirited exertions of the governor, whose wise plans were executed by the brave Capt. Standish, the colony was once more saved from destruction. Afterwards, in 1639, at the termination of the Pequod war, Massasoit, who had then changed his name to Woosamequen, brought his son Moosanam to Plymouth, and desired that the league which he had formerly made might be renewed and made inviolable. The sachem and his son voluntarily promised, "for themselves and their successors, that they would not needlessly nor unjustly raise any quarrels, or do any wrong to other natives to provoke them to war against the colony, and that they would not give, sell, or convey any of their lands, territories, or possessions whatever, to any person or persons whomsoever, without the privity or consent of the government of Plymouth, other than to such as the said government should send or appoint. The whole court did then ratify and confirm the aforesaid league, and promise, to the said Woosamequen, his son and successors, that they would defend them against all such as should unjustly rise up against them, to wrong or oppress them."

The "contract," entered into by the colonists at Cape Cod, on their arrival, was intended only as a temporary substitute for legal authority from their sovereign. Accordingly, as soon as they were informed of the establishment of the "council at Plymouth, for planting New England," before mentioned, they applied for, and obtained a patent. It was taken out, in the name of John Pierce, in trust for the colony. "When he saw that they were well seated, and that there was a prospect of success to their undertaking, he went, without their knowledge, but in their name, and solicited the council for another

patent of greater extent; intending to keep it to himself, and allow them no more than he pleased, holding them as his tenants, to sue and be sued at his courts. In pursuance of this design, having obtained a patent, he bought a ship, which he named the *Paragon*; loaded her with goods, took on board upwards of sixty passengers, and sailed from London, for the colony of New Plymouth. In the Downs he was overtaken by a tempest, which so damaged the ship that he was obliged to put her into dock; where she lay several weeks, and her repairs cost him one hundred pounds. In December, 1622, he sailed a second time, having on board one hundred and nine persons; but a series of tempestuous weather, which continued fourteen days, disabled his ship, and forced him back to Portsmouth. These repeated disappointments proved so discouraging to him, that he was easily prevailed upon by the company of adventurers to assign his patent to them for five hundred pounds. The passengers came over in other ships."

This spring (1623) there was an alarming drought. For six weeks after planting, there was scarcely a drop of rain. The corn changed its colour, and was just withering to death. They had changed their mode of labouring in common, which they had before practised, and each laboured by himself on his own plot. By this they hoped to compel the idle to diligence, and to excite all to greater exertions. But the drought threatened to blast all. In this crisis of trouble the wreck of a vessel was driven on the coast, which they supposed was the one which they heard had sailed several months before to bring them relief. A deep concern was fixed on every countenance. Individuals examined their hearts before God. The magistrates appointed a day of fasting and prayer. In the morning the heavens were clear, the earth powder and dust. The religious exercises continued eight or nine hours. Before they separated the sun was obscured, the clouds gathered, and the next morning began soft and gentle showers, which continued, with some intervals of delightful weather, for fourteen days. The corn revived and grew luxuriantly, and the hearts of the people were filled with hope and praise. The Indians in town inquired the cause of the public solemnity, and were deeply impressed with the consequences; saying that their "conjurations" for rain were followed with storms and tempests, which often did more harm than good. In July and August arrived two ships with supplies, and a number of new settlers. In September one of the ships returned, in which Mr. Winslow

went passenger, as an agent for the colony. The other went south on a voyage of discovery.

In the year 1624, the charter of the Plymouth council was attacked by the British parliament, and some vigorous resolutions were passed in the House of Commons, which so far deprived the council of their resources, that, it seems, they no longer thought it practicable to settle a plantation, though it appointed a governor general for New England. In consequence the patentees prudently concluded to divide the country among themselves. Accordingly, in the presence of King James, they drew lots for the shares that each one was to possess, as his exclusive property; the royal confirmation was to be obtained to each particular portion. This was not, however, immediately given, and they continued a few years longer to act as a body politic, and to make grants of different portions of the country to various societies. In March, 1624, Mr. Winslow, who had been previously sent to England for the purpose, arrived with a supply of clothing, and brought with him a *bull* and *three heifers*, which were the first neat cattle imported into New England. None of the domestic animals were found in America, by the first European settlers. At the close of this year, the Plymouth colony consisted of one hundred and eighty persons only, who lived in thirty-two dwelling houses. Their stock consisted of the cattle brought over by Mr. Winslow, a few goats, and a plenty of swine and poultry. Their town, half a mile in compass, was impaled. On a high mount in the town, they had erected a fort of wood, lime, and stone, and a handsome watch tower.

The year following, (March, 1625) that truly venerable and good man, the Rev. Mr. Robinson, whose memory is precious in New England, died at Leyden, in the 50th year of his age, greatly lamented, both in Holland and by that part of his congregation who had settled at Plymouth. In a few years after part of his people, who had remained with him in Holland, removed, and joined their brethren at Plymouth.

Among these were his widow and children. His son Isaac lived to be ninety, and left male posterity in the county of Barnstable. Mr. Robinson, though never in the country, deserves to be numbered among the founders of New England. He possessed a strong mind, cultivated with a good education. His doctrines were Calvinism; he admitted the articles of the church of England, and the confession of faith professed by the French reformed churches. He held that every church of

Christ is to consist only of such as appear to believe in and obey him; that infants are to receive baptism only when, at least, one of the parents is a member of the church, which is also declared in the French confession of faith. As a disputant he was celebrated. At the time of his living in Leyden the dispute was warm between the Calvinists and Arminians. Polyander, a professor of divinity in the university, with the ministers of the city, invited Mr. Robinson to hold a public disputation with Episcopius, the Arminian professor of divinity in the university. At first Mr. Robinson modestly declined the combat, but being importuned, he thought it his duty, and "in view of a numerous assembly, he defended the truth, foiled his learned opposer, and put him to an apparent nonplus." Evidences of his goodness meet us in every incident of his life. Several months before the removal of his people to New England, to confirm the wavering, and remove the scruples of those who doubted, he set apart a day for solemn prayer, and preached from 1 Sam. xxiii. 3, 4. "And David's men said unto him, Behold, we be afraid here in Judah, how much more then if we come to Keilah against the armies of the Philistines? Then David inquired of the Lord yet again. And the Lord answered him, and said, Arise, go down to Keilah; for I will deliver the Philistines into thine hand." In July following, another day of prayer was observed, when he preached from Ezra, viii. 21. In this sermon are the following passages worthy of notice. "Brethren," said he, "we are now quickly to part from one another; and whether I may live to see your face on earth any more, the God of heaven only knows; but whether the Lord hath appointed that or not, I charge you before God and his blessed angels, that you follow me no further than you have seen me follow the Lord Jesus Christ. If God reveal any thing to you by any other instruments of his, be as ready to receive it as every you were to receive any truth by my ministry; for I am verily persuaded, I am very confident, that the Lord has yet more truth to break forth from his holy word. For my part I cannot sufficiently bewail the condition of the reformed churches, who are come to a period in religion, and will at present go no farther than the instruments of their reformation. The Lutherans cannot be drawn to go beyond what Luther saw. Whatever part of his will our good God has revealed to Calvin, they will rather die than embrace. And the Calvinists, you see, stick fast where they were left by that great man of God, who yet saw not all

things. This is a misery much to be lamented; for though they were burning and shining lights in their times, yet they penetrated not into the whole counsel of God: were they now living they would be as willing to embrace further light as that which they first received. I beseech you, remember it is an article of your church covenant, "That you be ready to receive whatever truth shall be made known to you from the written word of God."

Such was the mutual love and respect between this worthy man and his flock, that it was hard to judge whether he delighted more in having such a people, or they in having such a pastor. His love toward them was constant, and his care always good. Beside his singular abilities in divine things, he was discreet in civil affairs, to foresee dangers and inconveniences, by which he assisted his people in their temporal as well as spiritual concerns. None were so odious to him as the selfish, "those who were close and cleaving to themselves, and retired from the common good." Those who were stiff and rigid in small affairs: those who inveighed against the faults of others, but were careless of their own conduct, were odious in his view. His people esteemed and revered him while living, but more after his death; when they felt the want of his assistance. Not only his own flock, but the people of Leyden, held him in high esteem. They gave him the use of one of their churches, in the chancel of which he was buried. The whole city and university regarded him as a great and good man: his death they sincerely lamented, and honoured his funeral with their presence.

CHAP. VI.

A larger Patent obtained—Difficulties between the Company in England and the Planters—Persecution of the Puritans—Sports on the Lord's Day established—Cromwell and others contemplate a Removal to America—Character of the First Settlers—Massachusetts purchased—Settled—Charter obtained—Its Contents—First Church formed at Salem—Addition of One Thousand Five Hundred to the Colony—Indian Conspiracy—Scarcity—Mortality—A Number Discouraged—Return to England.

IN 1629, when the plantation consisted of about three hundred souls, a patent of larger extent than the one which Pierce

had obtained and relinquished, was solicited by Isaac Allerton, and taken out in the name of "William Bradford, his heirs, associates, and assigns." This patent confirmed their title, (as far as the crown of England could confirm it) to a tract of land, bounded on the east and south by the Atlantic ocean, and by lines drawn west from the rivulet of Conohasset, and north from the river of Narraganset, which lines meet in a point, comprehending all the country then called Pokanokit. To this tract they supposed they had a prior title from the depopulation of a great part of it by a pestilence, from the gift of Massasoit, his voluntary subjection to the crown of England, and his having protection of them. In a declaration published by them in 1636, they asserted their "lawful right in respect of vacancy, donation, and purchase of the natives," which, together with their patent from the crown through the council of New England, formed "the warrantable ground and foundation of their government, of making laws, and disposing of lands." In the same patent was granted a large tract bordering on the river Kennebec, where they had carried on a traffic with the natives for furs, as they did also at Connecticut river, which was not equally beneficial, because they had the Dutch for rivals. The fur trade was found to be much more advantageous than the fishery. Sometimes they exchanged corn of their own growth for furs; but European coarse cloths, hard ware, and ornaments, were good articles of trade, when they could command them.

The company in England with which they were connected, did not supply them in plenty. Losses were sustained by sea; the returns were not adequate to their expectations; they became discouraged; threw many reflections on the planters, and finally refused them any further supplies: but still demanded the debt due from them, and would not permit them to connect themselves in trade with any other person. The planters complained to the council of New England, but obtained no redress. After the expiration of seven years, (1628) for which the contract was made, eight of the principal persons in the colony, with four of their friends in London, became bound for the balance; and from that time took the whole trade into their own hands. These were obliged to take up money at an exorbitant interest, and to go deeply into trade at Kennebec, Penobscot, and Connecticut; by which means, and their own great industry and economy, they were enabled to discharge

the debt, and pay for the transportation of thirty-five families of their friends from Leyden, who arrived in 1629.

The persecution of the Puritans in England, under archbishop Laud, now raged with unrelenting severity; and while it caused the destruction of thousands in England, proved to be a principle of life and vigour to the infant colonies in New England. Among other expedients for vexing the Puritans, (who were now composed both of dissenters from the established church and the opposers of despotic monarchy) "a system of sports and recreations on the Lord's day, which had been originated in the last reign, was revived and established by the king. This measure was directly calculated both to obviate the objections of the Roman Catholics to the suppression of feasts and revels, and to wound the feelings of the Puritans, and embarrass their clergy; as they were remarkable for a strict attention to the fourth commandment, still so decently observed by their descendants. The magistrates had found these sports, which consisted of dancing, leaping, vaulting, and various other games, to be introductory of profanation, and attempted to suppress them; but so great was the zeal of the court to root out Puritanism, which, from the strict observation it enjoined of the Lord's day, they conceived, tended to diminish the feast days of the church, that the representations of the magistrates were overruled, and the order establishing the book of sports was directed to be read in every parish. This was a net to entangle the clergy, and many lost their livings, for conscientiously refusing to read the order. In short, it became evident, in the star-chamber language of the Earl of Dorset, that to be guilty of drunkenness, uncleanness, or any less fault, might be pardonable; but that the sin of Puritanism and non-conformity was without forgiveness."

Such being the situation of affairs in England, several men of eminence, who were the friends and protectors of the Puritans, entertained a design of settling in New England, if they should fail in the measures they were pursuing for the establishment of the liberty, and the reformation of the religion of their own country. They solicited and obtained grants in New England, and were at great pains in settling them. Among these patentees were the Lords Brook, Say and Sele, the Pelhams, the Hampdens, and the Pym; names which afterward appeared with great éclat. Sir Matthew Boynton, Sir William Constable, Sir Arthur Haslerig, and Oliver Cromwell, were actually on the point of embarking for New England;

when archbishop Laud, unwilling that so many objects of his hatred should be removed out of the reach of his power, applied for and obtained an order from the court to put a stop to these transportations. "Restrictions were laid upon their escape, and whilst some had fled to foreign countries, others were not so fortunate as to obtain this dreadful privilege, but were detained as hostages for the good conduct of their brethren abroad." However, he was not able to prevail so far as to hinder New England from receiving vast additions, as well of the clergy, who were silenced and deprived of their livings for non-conformity, as of the laity, who adhered to their opinion. As in all countries where persecution rages, so here, the wisest, most wholesome, and most useful members of the community, were compelled to leave their country. "Multitudes (said Dr. Owen, speaking of these times) of pious and peaceable protestants were driven by the severity of their persecutors to leave their native country, and seek a refuge for their lives and liberties, with freedom for the worship of God, in a wilderness, in the ends of the earth." By such people New England was first settled. A body of men more remarkable for their wisdom never perhaps commenced the settlement of any country.

As early as 1626, a few people from Plymouth, conducted by Mr. Roger Conant, commenced a settlement on Naumkeag river. Discouraged by the difficulties they had to encounter, they had determined to quit America and return to England; but, encouraged by the Rev. Mr. White, of Dorchester, in England, who, with other influential characters that were desirous of providing an asylum in America for the persecuted non-conformists, assured them if they would remain, that they should receive a patent, supplies and friends, they relinquished their design, and concluded to wait the event. Accordingly, on the 19th of March, 1627, Sir Henry Roswell, and several other gentlemen, in the vicinity of Dorchester, purchased of the council of Plymouth, all that part of New England, included within a line drawn from the Atlantic ocean, three miles north of the Merrimac to the South Sea. But as the council gave them no powers of government, they afterwards obtained a charter of incorporation, from Charles I. constituting them a body politic, by the name of the "Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay in New England," with powers as extensive as any other corporation in England. The charter recited the grant of American territory to the council of Plymouth in 1620. It regranted Mas

sachusetts Bay to Henry Roswell and others. The whole executive power of the corporation was vested in a governor, deputy governor, and eighteen assistants; and until the annual election of the company could commence, the governor, deputy governor, and eighteen assistants, were specified. The governor, and seven or more assistants, were authorised to meet in monthly courts, for dispatching such business as concerned the company or settlement. But the legislative powers of the corporation were vested in a more popular assembly, composed of the governor, deputy governor, the assistants, and freemen of the company. This assembly to be convened on the last Wednesday of each of the four annual terms, by the title of "the General Court," was empowered to enact laws and ordinances for the good of the body politic, and the government of the plantation, and its inhabitants; provided they should not be repugnant to the laws and statutes of England. This assembly was empowered to elect their governor, deputy governor, and other necessary officers, and to confer the freedom of the company. The company was allowed to transport persons, merchandize, weapons, &c. to New England, exempt from duty for the term of seven years; and emigrants were entitled to all the privileges of Englishmen. Such are the general outlines of the charter. Under this charter Matthew Cradock was elected the first governor, and Thomas Goff, deputy governor; Capt. John Endicott, who the year before (1627) had gone over with one hundred persons to Salem to prepare the way for the settlement of a permanent colony, was appointed, by the Plymouth company, governor for the plantation.

In May, 1628, about two hundred persons, with the Rev. Messrs. Skelton, Higginson, and Bright, embarked for New England, and arrived at Naumkeag, now Salem, on the 29th of June. The whole colony under governor Endicott now consisted of three hundred souls; one hundred of whom, the same year removed to Charlestown. Messrs. Skelton and Higginson remained at Salem, where they formed, and were ordained over, the first church in that town; Mr. Bright removed with the others to Charlestown. The colony was formed on the plan of the East India company, or any other trading corporation; for, though the object of the settlers was religion, the company had no motive but profit. Those who came over expected liberty of conscience, the company who sent them waited for furs and other articles of commerce. Accordingly the governor, deputy governor, and assistants, were all residents in England. The nominal

governor here was merely their agent ; Mr. Endicott was the first. But the situation of the persecuted Puritans in England becoming more and more intolerable, this interested numbers of respectable and wealthy people in their behalf, and converted them to their principles. Several more of consequence in the nation had formed a resolution to emigrate to Massachusetts, *provided* they should be permitted to carry the charter with them. They were aware of the inconvenience of being governed, in a new and distant country, different in most respects from England, by men, over whom they had no control ; they wished to govern themselves. They insisted, therefore, that the charter should be transmitted with them, and that the corporate powers which it conferred, should in future be executed in New England. Though the legality of the proposed measure was questioned, yet the importance of engaging men of wealth and influence in the enterprize, by which great profits were expected, induced governor Cradock, who entered fully into their views, to call a general court Aug. 29th, 1629, to whom he submitted the question : whereupon it was unanimously resolved "That the patent shall be transferred, and the government of the corporation removed from London to Massachusetts Bay." The members of the corporation, who remained in England, were, by agreement, to retain a share in the trading stock, and the profits of it, for seven years ; but it does not appear that any dividend was ever made, or that any trade was carried on for the company.

On the 20th of October, 1629, the company proceeded to a new choice of officers, to elect such persons only, as had determined to go over with the charter. John Winthorp was chosen governor, John Humphreys, deputy governor, Sir Richard Saltonstal and seventeen others, assistants. The deputy governor and several of the assistants never came to America. Their places were supplied by a new choice. Thomas Dudley was chosen deputy governor in place of Mr. Humphreys. In the spring of 1630, these officers, with about fifteen hundred emigrants, embarked at various ports in England, in eleven vessels, fitted at the expence of more than £21,000 sterling, having their charter on board. This was the first charter that ever arrived in New England, and the only one under which Massachusetts ever acted, till king William granted them another after the revolution. After a tedious voyage, they arrived at Salem, in June, and at Charlestown the beginning of July. In consequence, the 8th day of this month was celebrated in all the plantations in New Eng-

land as a day of public thanksgiving to God, "for all his goodness, and wonderful works to them."

But there were several circumstances which operated as drawbacks upon the joys of this occasion. An extensive and formidable conspiracy of the Indians, as far as Narraganset, for the purpose of extirpating the English colonists, had been, but a few months before, discovered to the inhabitants of Charlestown by John Sagamore, in season, however, to prevent its horrid execution. The alarm and terror, which this event occasioned, had hardly subsided. Of three hundred persons, who were previously at Salem and Charlestown, eighty had died the preceding winter. There was not corn enough to supply their necessities for a fortnight; and their other provisions, in consequence of their long voyage, were reduced to a scanty pittance. They were obliged to let their servants (who had cost them from fifteen to twenty pounds each) go free, and provide for themselves. Under all these disadvantages they had but a few months to prepare shelter and food for a long and cold winter.

To encrease their calamities, a mortal sickness soon commenced its ravages among them, and before December, two hundred of their number had died. Among these was lady Arabella, who "came from a paradise of plenty and pleasure, in the family of a noble Earl, into a wilderness of wants," Mr. Johnson, her husband, highly esteemed for his piety and wisdom, and one of the assistants, and Mr. Rositer, another of the assistants. To console them under their severe distresses, Mr. Wilson preached to them on the subject of Jacob's behaviour, who was not disheartened by the death of his nearest friends on the way, when God called him to remove. This worthy minister was liberal, almost to an extreme, in administering to the relief of the necessitous; he was at all times a father to the poor: and the wretched Indians often tasted his bounty.

Discouraged by such calamities and gloomy prospects, about an hundred persons, who had lately arrived, of "weaker minds," and not of the best characters, returned to England in the vessels which brought them over. The return of these was considered as no loss to the plantation. This new accession to the Massachusetts colony collected, some from the west of England, but chiefly from the vicinity of London, were of all trades and occupations, necessary for planting a new country. As there were not buildings sufficient to accomodate such a num-

ber of people, the artificers among them erected tents and temporary booths for their accommodation.

CHAP. VII.

Church gathered in Charlestown—First Court held there—Morton sentenced for stealing an Indian Canoe—Boston, Watertown, and Roxbury settled—Description of the former—Scarcity and its good Effects—Account of Newbury—Arrival of Governor Winthrop's Family—Union of the two Colonies.

AS the great object of these christian pilgrims, in leaving their native country, and settling in this wilderness, was to "enjoy the ordinances of the gospel, and worship the Lord Jesus Christ according to his own institutions," Governor Winthrop, Lieut. Governor Dudley, Mr. Johnson, and the Rev. Mr. Wilson, on the 30th of July, 1630, entered into a formal and solemn covenant with each other, and thus laid the foundation of the church in Charlestown. This was the first ordination that took place in Massachusetts.

On the 23d of August, 1630, the first court of assistants was held at Charlestown on board the *Arabella*, consisting of Governor Winthrop, Deputy Governor Dudley, and Sir Richard Saltonstall, Messrs. Ludlow, Rossiter, Newell, T. Sharp, Pynchon, and Bradstreet, assistants. This court was formed for the determination of great affairs, civil and criminal; justices of the peace, invested with the same authority as like magistrates in England, and other officers, were appointed for the preservation of tranquillity. The first question that came before them was, "how the ministers should be maintained?" On the proposal of Messrs. Wilson and Phillips, the court ordered that houses should be built for them at the public charge, and the Governor and Sir Richard Saltonstall were appointed to carry the order into effect. It was at the same time ordered that Mr. Phillips's salary should be thirty pounds a year and Mr. Wilson's twenty pounds, "till his wife should come over." Thomas Wollaston, who had stolen a boat from the Indians, was ordered to be brought before them for trial without delay. Carpenters, joiners, bricklayers, sawyers, and thatchers, were ordered to take no more than two shillings a day, under a penalty of ten shillings, to giver or taker, and Mr. Bradstreet was chosen secretary.

On the 7th of September, a second court was held at Charlestown, before which Morton was tried, condemned, and sentenced to be set in the bilboes, and afterwards to be sent prisoner to England by the ship called the Gift, now returning thither; that all his goods shall be seized to defray the charges of his transportation, payment of his debts, and to give satisfaction to the Indians for a canoe he had unjustly taken from them; and that his house be burnt down to the ground, in sight of the Indians, for the many wrongs he had done them. All persons were forbidden to plant within the limits of their patent, without leave from the court; those persons who had set down at *Agawam* were ordered to remove; Trimountain they named *Boston*, Mattapan, *Dorchester*, and the town on Charles River, *Watertown*.

Before the following winter, Sir Richard Saltonstall, with Mr. Phillips and others, removed and formed a plantation at Watertown; the greater part of the church in Charlestown, with Mr. Wilson, removed and settled in Boston. Another company, with Mr. Pyncheon at their head, settled at Roxbury.

At Charlestown they had been very sickly, which they ascribed to the water; the only spring they had discovered was overflowed at high water, and being informed by one Blaxton, who had been over to Boston and slept there, that he found good water in that place, Mr. Johnson and others crossed Charles' river, and began a settlement in November. Governor Winthrop soon followed them. Here they erected for themselves huts, and spent the winter. On the 6th of December the governor and assistants met, and agreed to fortify Boston Neck; but the design was relinquished shortly after, and instead of a fortification in this place, they concluded to build, the next spring, a fortified town on the spot near where Harvard University has since been established, then called New Town. In the spring following, the governor accordingly began to erect a house; and the deputy governor finished his, and removed his family. But the neighbouring Indians manifesting a friendly disposition, the apprehension of danger lessened, and the plan of a fortified town was relinquished. The governor determined to settle at Boston. This place was called *Shawmut* by the natives, but *Trimountain* by the English on account of its three hills. Afterward, from respect to Mr. Cotton, who came from Boston, in Lincolnshire, this peninsula was named *Boston*. The doubt and hesitancy exhibited by the first inhabitants respecting this spot, or a

place for their principal settlement, proved that they had little apprehensions of its physical advantages or future importance. For some time Dorchester was a large town, and Cambridge its powerful rival. So indifferent was its figure, that sarcastically it was called *Lost Town*.

On the 24th of May, 1631, a fortification was begun on Fort Hill. The next day the people of Charlestown went over and assisted: the day following the people of Dorchester went; Roxbury also lent their aid. But previous to this, in March, the court had ordered a market to be established in Boston, to be kept every Thursday, which was lecture day. On the fourth of this month, Samuel Cole had set up the first house of entertainment, and John Cogan the first merchant's shop. On the 16th of March was the first fire in Boston, two dwelling houses were consumed. The fire caught about noon in the chimney of Mr. Sharp's house, the splinters of which it was made, not being clayed. Catching the thatch on the roof, the wind drove the fire to Mr. Colburn's house, which was destroyed; the most of the goods were saved. This so alarmed the people, "that, for the prevention of the like evil, it was ordered that in Newtown (now Cambridge, to be built the next summer) no man should build his chimney of wood, nor cover his house with thatch." In August the congregation of Boston and Charlestown began to build the first meeting-house in Boston. It was erected in Cornhill.

The following account of Boston was written by a learned Englishman, who had visited Massachusetts, in 1633. "Boston," saith he, "is two miles north-east of Roxborough. The situation is pleasant, being a peninsula, the bay of Roxborough on the south, Charles River on the north, marshes on the back side, not forty rods over, so that a little fence will secure their cattle from the wolves. The greatest wants are wood and meadow land, which never were in this place; their timber, and firewood, and hay, are brought from the islands. They are not troubled with mosquitoes, wolves, or rattle snakes. Those who live here on their cattle, have farms in the country, the place being more suitable for those who trade. This neck of land is not above four miles in compass, in form almost square, has on the south side a great broad hill, on which is a fort, which commands the still bay. On the north side is another hill, equal in bigness, on which is a windmill: to the north-west is a high mountain, with three little rising hills on the top of it, wherefore it is called Tramount. Although this town

is not the greatest, nor richest, it is the most noted and frequented, being the centre of the plantations, where the monthly courts are kept. The town has very good land, affording rich corn fields, and fruitful gardens, sweet and pleasant springs. The inhabitants keep their swine and cattle at Muddy River in the summer, while their corn is on the ground, but bring them to town in the winter."

In 1638 Boston was rather a village than a town, there not being above twenty or thirty houses. Though this town has suffered greatly by the small pox, by wars, and by many terrible fires, its increase and wealth has exceeded the most sanguine expectations. It is by far the largest and most opulent town in New England; very few towns in North America are equal to it. In 1676 a fire destroyed forty-five dwelling houses; three years after eighty dwelling houses, seventy stores, and several vessels, were destroyed by fire. In 1711 a fire broke out in the centre of the town, and consumed all the houses on each side of Cornhill, from School Street to Market Square; but the most terrible conflagration was in 1760, when one hundred and seventy-four dwelling houses were swept away, with one hundred and seventy-five warehouses, shops, and other buildings. The loss was estimated at one hundred thousand pounds sterling. In 1777, and 1794, the fires consumed about two hundred buildings. Beside the fires mentioned, there have been many others, which destroyed a great number of buildings, and property of immense value. The siege in 1775 was calamitous to Boston; it was supposed as many buildings were destroyed then, as were burned in Charlestown.

As the winter approached, provisions became extremely scarce; the people were compelled to subsist on clams, muscles, groundnuts, and acorns, and even these were procured with great difficulty while the snow covered the ground. These trials discouraged many; and when it was announced that the "governor had the last batch of bread in the oven," they almost despaired of receiving seasonable relief. They were moreover full of fears lest a ship, which had been dispatched to Ireland for provisions, had either been cast away, or taken by pirates. But God, in his good providence, sent them timely relief. In their trouble they had appointed a day to seek the Lord by fasting and prayer. Before the day came, the ship, with provisions competent to their necessities, arrived, and they changed the day of fasting into a day of thanksgiving.

After a winter of great sufferings the court convened, in the spring of 1631, and ordained, "that the governor and assistants shall, in future, be chosen by the freemen alone; that none should be admitted to the freedom of the company but such as were chosen members, who had certificates from their ministers that they were of orthodox principles: and that none but freemen should vote at elections, or act as magistrates or jurymen." This extraordinary law continued in force till the writ of *quo warranto*, in 1684, annihilated the government which erected it. In November this year, Governor Winthrop's wife and family arrived at Boston; when they came on shore they were honoured with a discharge of artillery; the militia assembled, and "entertained them with a guard and divers volleys;" the judges of the court and most of the people near the town went to salute them. For several days plenty of provisions was sent to them, "cows, fat hogs, kids, venison, poultry, geese, and partridges." Never had there been such rejoicing in New England. The eleventh of November was a day of religious thanksgiving. The distresses endured the preceding season induced the colonists to pay great attention to the raising of provisions for their future support. To encourage a spirit so laudable and necessary, the court enacted "that Indian corn should be deemed a legal tender in discharge of debts." A great part of the cattle which had been imported from England had died; and a milch cow was now valued at twenty-five to thirty pounds sterling.

Two colonies, one at Plymouth, the other at Massachusetts, were now planted in New England. Both were critically situated in respect to their neighbours. The Plymouth settlers had erected a trading house at Penobscot about the year 1627; of this the French from Accadie had taken possession. This gave rise to complaints, on both sides, of incroachments on their respective rights, which led finally to war between the parent countries.

In 1633 arrived a number of people in the ship *Hector*, who settled at Quafcacunquen. In May, 1634, arrived Mr. Thomas Parker and Mr. James Noyes. Mr. Parker, and about a hundred who came over with them, sat down at Ipswich, where he continued about a year, while Mr. Noyes preached at Medford. In May, 1635, some of the principal people of Ipswich petitioned the general court for liberty to remove to Quafcacunquen, which was granted, and the place incorporated by the name of Newbury. This was the tenth church gathered in the

colony. M. Noyes was chosen teacher, and Mr. Parker pastor of the church.

The beautiful river, on whose banks they first settled, was, in honour to their reverend pastor, named Parker river: tradition says because he was the first who ascended it in his boat. This he might easily effect from Ipswich, where he had lived the year before; it being only about eight miles of smooth water through Plumb Island sound. A writer in 1652, gives the following account of Newbury. "This town is twelve miles from Ipswich; it has meadows and upland, which hath caused some gentlemen, who brought over good estates, to set upon husbandry, among whom that religious and sincere-hearted servant of Christ, Mr. Richard Dummer, some time a magistrate in this little commonwealth, hath holpen on this town. Their houses are built very scattering, which hath caused some contending about removal of their place for sabbath assemblies. Their cattle are about four hundred, with store of cornland in tillage; it consists of about seventy families: the souls in church fellowship are about one hundred. The teaching elders of this congregation have carried it very lovingly towards their people, permitting them to assist in admitting persons into church society, and in church censures, so long as they act regularly, but in case of their mal-administration, they assume the power wholly to themselves; their godly life and conversation hath hitherto been very amiable, and their pains and care over their flock not inferior to many others." Another account of Quafcacunquen or Newbury, in 1633, the year of its settlement, is in these words. "Merrimack lies eight miles from Ipswich, is the best place; the river is navigable twenty leagues; all along the river's side are fresh marshes, in some places three miles broad. In this river is sturgeon, salmon, and bass, and divers other kinds of fish. The country scarce affordeth that which this place cannot yield." These quotations are not made on account of their geographical inaccuracy, for they are both defective. The first makes the distance from Ipswich four miles greater than it is. The last states the distance right, but calls the place Merrimack, which is four miles further, while his description much better applies to Parker River, where the settlement had actually commenced the year he made his observations, and on the Parker are the most extensive marshes.

The first person born in Newbury was Mary Brown, afterwards Godfrey. She lived to be eighty-two years of age, had

a good report as a maid, a wife, and widow, and left a numerous posterity.

Few churches of New England have sent forth so many branches as this at Newbury. Beside a meeting of friends and half a congregational society, the other half lying at Rowley, there are ten churches within the ancient limits of Newbury. A curious specimen of style, and that fondness which the man retains for "the play place of his tender years," is left us by a native of this town. "As long as Plumb island shall faithfully keep the commanded post, notwithstanding all the hectoring words and hard blows of the proud and boisterous ocean; as long as any salmon or sturgeon shall swim in the streams of Merrinack, or any perch or pickerell in Crane Pond; as long as the seafowl shall know the time of their coming, and not neglect seasonably to visit the places of their acquaintance; as long as any cattle shall be fed with the grass growing in the meadows, which do humbly bow down themselves before Turkey Hill; as long as any sheep shall walk upon Old Town Hills, and thence pleasantly look down upon the river Parker, and the fruitful marshes lying beneath; as long as any free and harmless doves shall find a white oak or other tree within the township to perch, or feed, or build a careless nest upon, and shall voluntarily present themselves to perform the office of gleaners after barley harvest; as long as nature shall not grow old and dote, but shall constantly remember to give the rows of Indian corn their education by pairs; so long shall christians be born here, and, being made meet, shall hence be translated to be made partakers of the inheritance of the saints in light." *Description of the New Heaven*, by S. Sewall, Fellow of Harvard College, printed 1727. So pleasing were his anticipations, and so readily did he find in his native town all the images of duration to satisfy his taste.

The ministers of this ancient church have been respectable for their talents and purity of character. Their first pastor, the Rev. Thomas Parker, was the only son of the Rev. Robert Parker, who, with some other ministers, was driven out of England in the reign of queen Elizabeth, for Puritanism. Mr. Thomas Parker was born in 1595. He had been admitted into Magdalen College, in Oxford, before his father's exile; after which he removed to Ireland, where he pursued his studies under the famous Dr. Usher. Thence he went to Holland, where he enjoyed the assistance of Dr. Ames. His labours were indefatigable, and his progress answerable. Before the age of

twenty-two he received the degree of Master of Arts. In his diploma it is said, " *Illum non sine magna admiratione audivimus.*" He soon returned to Newbury, in England, to pursue his theological studies, where he also for a time preached and kept a school. Thence he, with a number of christians from Wiltshire, came over to New England in the year 1634. The next year, with a number or those who left England with him, and others, he settled at Newbury, where, for a long course of years, by the holiness and humility of his life, he gave his people a lively commentary of his doctrine. He was a hard student, and, by his incessant application, he became blind several years before his death. Under this extreme loss he supported an easy and patient temper, and would, in a pleasant manner, say, " Well they will be restored shortly in the resurrection." He departed to a world of light, April 1677, in the eighty-second year of his age, and fifty-second of his ministry. He was a man of charity, and, for some peculiarity of opinions, experienced some difficulties with his neighbours. He was considered one of the first scholars and divines of the age. Mr. Parker's confidence in the success of New England settlements, may be inferred from the text he selected for a sermon preached at Ipswich, just before he and his people left England. It was Exod. i. 7. " And the children of Israel were fruitful, &c. and the land was filled with them." Mr. Parker and his colleague, both considered the sabbath as beginning the evening preceeding, yet both kept sabbath evening as their people did. Mr. Parker being asked why he adopted a practice different from his opinion, replied, " Because I dare not depart from the footsteps of the flock for my own private opinion." When he kept a small school he refused any reward, saying, " He lived for the church's sake; therefore he was not willing to receive any scholars, but those who were designed for the ministry." His whole life was employed in prayer, study, preaching, and teaching school. Going from his study one day, he found the young people of the family laughing very freely, he gravely said, " Cousins, I wonder how you can be so merry, unless you are sure of salvation."

Mr. James Noyes was born in 1608, at Choulderton, of godly parents; his father being minister of the town. Mr. Noyes was called from college, in Oxford, to assist Mr. Parker in his school at Newbury in England. In his youth he was admired for his piety; after receiving a call at Watertown, while he was preaching at Medford, he chose to settle with his beloved Par-

ker, and the people, who came over with him, who invited him to Newbury. He was much beloved by his people, and his memory is respected there to the present day. A catechism which he composed for the children of his flock, has lately been reprinted by them. He was their teacher for more than twenty years; and after a long and tedious sickness, which he bore with patience and even cheerfulness, he died Oct. 22, 1655, in the forty-eighth year of his age. He married Sarah Brown, before he left England, by whom he left six sons and daughters, who all lived to have families. Though Mr. Noyes fled from the church of England, he was not so high a republican, in religious affairs, as his brethren in general. "He no way approved the governing vote of the fraternity, but took their consent in a silent way." He held a profession of faith and repentance, and subjection to ordinances, to be the rule of admission to church fellowship, but admitted to baptism the children of those who had been baptized, without requiring the parents to own any covenant or being in church fellowship. Mr. Parker and Noyes kept a private fast once a month, while Mr. Noyes lived, as they often had done in England, and while on their passage to this country. Mr. Parker continued the practice after the death of Mr. Noyes. They were the most cordial and intimate friends; in England they instructed in the same school; they came over in the same ship; they were ministers in the same church; and as Mr. Parker never married, they lived in the same house; nothing but death could separate them.

Mr. John Woodbridge succeeded Mr. Noyes as a teacher of the church with Mr. Parker his uncle, his mother being Mr. Parker's sister. Mr. Woodbridge was born in 1613, the son of a pious clergyman of Wiltshire. John was "trained up in the way he should go," and when prepared, sent to Oxford to receive an education. But not choosing to take the oath of conformity, he left college, and pursued his studies in a more private way. The ceremonies of the church being rigorously enforced, young Woodbridge, in 1634, came over to New England with Mr. Parker. With the rest he took up lands in Newbury, and continued his studies, till, by reason of his father's death, he was called to England; having accomplished his business, and married a daughter of governor Dudley's, he returned to New England, in the infancy of Andover, where he was ordained Sept. 16, 1644. Here he continued with reputation, till, by the invitation of friends, in 1647, he once more crossed

the Atlantic to the pleasant isle of his nativity. There he continued useful and happy, till the Bartholomew act, in 1663, banished him once more to America. Soon after his arrival on these shores, the church in Newbury invited him to be an assistant of his aged uncle, and to them he devoted his labours. But after some time, a difficulty concerning church discipline arising between him and his people, he was dismissed. Soon after, he was remarkably blessed "in his private estate," which supplied the loss of his salary. His reputation was good, and he was appointed a justice of the peace, and magistrate of the colony. He had twelve children; eleven of whom lived to be men and women. He had the comfort of seeing three sons and two sons in law employed in the gospel ministry, and four grandsons candidates for the same work. He was a man of an excellent spirit, and gave good evidence that he "had been sanctified from his infancy." He was of a remarkably patient, pleasant temper, noted for his readiness to forgive injuries, rarely or never disturbed by worldly disappointments. A messenger once brought him word of great loss of property; his reply was, "What a mercy it is that this is the first time that I ever met with such a disaster." On a sabbath day in March, 1695, after a distressing disease, he went to everlasting rest, aged 82 years. To him succeeded the Rev. John Richardson, who was ordained teacher of the first church in Newbury with Mr. Parker, October 20, 1675. He died April 27, 1696, in the fiftieth year of his age, and twenty-first of his ministry. Since that time the church has had three pastors, the Rev. Mr. Tappan, the Rev. Dr. Tucker, and the Rev. Mr. Moor, and is now destitute.

The Massachusetts colony was threatened by the surrounding Indians. In these circumstances prudence dictated that union should be established between the two infant colonies. To bring about a measure so necessary to their safety, the Governor, with the Rev. Mr. Wilson and others, proceeded to Plymouth, forty miles through the wilderness, on foot. They were kindly and respectfully received by Governor Bradford, and the principal gentlemen at Plymouth; and the result of this embassy was a lasting friendship between the colonies.

CHAP. VIII.

Complaints against the Colonists—Character of Rev. Mr. Higginson—Ipswich settled—Representative Government—Code of Laws enacted.

THE colonists, in their zeal to preserve the unity and purity of the faith, had expelled from among them some whose principles and conduct they disapproved. These persons complained to the king of the wrongs they had suffered. Their complaints were referred to the Privy Council for Colonies, January, 1632: but most of the charges being denied, and “to avoid discouragement to the adventurers, and in hopes that the colony, which then had a promising appearance, would prove beneficial to the kingdom,” the complaint was dismissed.

On the 15th of March, 1630, died the Rev. Francis Higginson, first pastor of Salem church. He was educated at Emanuel College, Cambridge, in England, and had been pastor of a church in Leicester. His preaching was truly evangelical, his great object being to produce that change of heart, and holy rectitude of conduct, without which no man can see the kingdom of God. The effect was such as might be expected; a remarkable revival of religion was the reward of his labours, and many were effectually turned from sin to holiness; but, like many other good men, for his non-conformity, he was deprived of his pulpit. At this time the weight of his influence burst forth; the arm of ecclesiastical power could not obscure the lustre of his talents. Such was the pathos and enchanting persuasiveness of his eloquence, that the people could not be denied the pleasure of his instructions. “He was unto them as a very lovely song of one that hath a pleasant voice, and can play well on an instrument.” The people obtained liberty for him to preach a lecture on one part of the sabbath, and on the other to aid an aged clergyman, who needed his assistance. The people supported him by a free contribution; while it was safe all the conforming ministers in the town invited him into their pulpits. He preached to another congregation a mile out of town; thus did the field of his labours expand. But as it often happens in similar cases, while one part of the community was delighted and encouraged in their public and private religion, another part, feeling themselves rebuked and condemned, became more violent opposers and more cruel persecutors.

Mr. Higginson openly avowed his opinion, that ignorant and

immoral people ought not to be admitted to the table of the Lord. Accordingly, after preaching a sermon from this text, "Give not that which is holy to dogs," and being about to administer the sacrament, he saw a known swearer and drunkard before him, to whom he publicly said, "he was not willing to give the Lord's supper to him, unless he professed his repentance to the satisfaction of the brethren, and desired him to withdraw." The man went out in a rage against Mr. Higginson, and with horror in his own conscience, he was immediately taken sick, and in a few days expired, crying out, "*I am damned.*" Another profane person being offended with his wife, for attending Mr. Higginson's preaching, vowed revenge upon him. Accordingly, he resolved on a journey to London to complain to the high commission court against him. All things being made ready for his journey, and he mounting his horse, an insupportable pain of body seized him; his conscience was terrified; he was agitated with horror: and, being led into his house, he died in a few hours.

A number of respectable and wealthy merchants having obtained a charter of Charles the first, and being incorporated by the name of the governor and company of Massachusetts Bay, in New England, determined, in 1629, to send over some ships to begin a plantation. Hearing Mr. Higginson's situation, they sent two messengers to invite him to join their company, engaging to support him on the passage. These messengers, understanding that Mr. Higginson was in daily expectation of officers to carry him to London, determined to have a little sport. Accordingly, they went boldly to his door, and with loud knocks, cried "Where is Mr. Higginson? we must speak with Mr. Higginson." His affrighted wife ran to his chamber, entreating him to conceal himself. He replied, "No, I will go down and speak with them, and the will of the Lord be done." As they entered his hall with an assumed boldness, and roughness of address, they presented him some papers, saying, "Sir, we come from London; our business is to carry you to London, as you may see by these papers".—"I thought so," exclaimed Mrs. Higginson. Indeed all the people in the room as well as she were confirmed in their opinion, that "these blades were pursuants." Mr. Higginson soon found himself invited to Massachusetts by the governor and company; he welcomed his guests, had a free conversation, and after taking proper time to ascertain his duty, resolved to cross the Atlantic. His farewell sermon was from Luke xxi. 20,

21. "When ye see Jerusalem encompassed with armies, &c. then flee to the mountains." Before a vast assembly he declared his persuasion that England would be chastised by war, and that Leicester would have more than an ordinary share of sufferings. Soon after, Leicester, being strongly fortified, received the wealth of the adjacent country. It was then besieged, taken by storm, given up to plunder and violence, and eleven hundred of the inhabitants were slain in the streets. He soon took his journey with his family to London, in order to embark for New England, when the streets, as he passed along, were filled with people, bidding him farewell, with prayers and cries for his welfare.

They sailed from the Isle of Wight, May, 1629, and when they came to the land's end, Mr. Higginson, calling up his children and other passengers to take their last sight of England, said, "Farewell, England, farewell the church of God in England, and all the christian friends there," concluding with a fervent prayer for the king, church, and state of England. The 24th of June, they arrived in Salem harbour. Mr. Skelton, who had been his companion in the voyage, united with him in forming a church, who immediately chose these two their spiritual teachers, and Mr. Houghton ruling elder. Happy were the people in their instructions, and the ample privileges they enjoyed; but this, as well as the other colonies, was doomed to suffer a dreadful mortality the first winter after their arrival; almost one hundred persons died at Salem, and two hundred at Boston, Charlestown, and the vicinity.

Mr. Higginson's doctrines were mild. His discipline was formed upon the manners of the people, and if severe to us, could not have been so to them; it was a guard upon morals. While others were dying around him the first winter, Mr. Higginson fell into a hectic. The last sermon he preached was from Matt. xi. 7. "What went ye out into the wilderness to see?" From which he reminded the people of their design to promote true religion in coming into this country. In his sickness he was visited by the principal people of the colony, and his funeral was attended with all possible solemnity. Mr. Higginson "was grave in his deportment, and pure in his morals. In person he was slender, not tall: not easily changed from his purposes, but not rash in declaring them. He held the hearts of his people, and his memory was dear to their posterity. The eagerness with which they embraced an opportunity to fix his son, thirty years afterwards, in the same

church, and the renewal of his covenant, are full evidence of their sincere affections. He left a widow and eight children." His posterity are still among the most respectable people of the Commonwealth.

In March, 1633, J. Winthrop, a son of the governor, with twelve men, began a plantation at Agawam, which afterwards was called Ipswich. The next year a church was gathered, being the ninth in the colony. In April, the people being destitute of a minister, the governor travelled on foot from Boston to Ipswich, spent the sabbath with them, "and exercised by way of prophecy." In 1634, the Rev. Nathaniel Ward came over from England, and became their minister for about eleven years.

This year, August 4th, the general court gave the new town at Agawam the name of Ipswich, as a token of gratitude for the kindness the inhabitants received at Ipswich, in England, where they embarked for this country. A fortnight after, a day of thanksgiving was appointed "for the revival of the times." The following is the first description we have seen of this place. "Agawam is nine miles north from Salem; it is one of the most spacious places for a plantation, being near the sea; it aboundeth with fish, and fowls, and beasts, great meads and marshes, and plain ploughing grounds, many good rivers and harbours, and no rattle snakes; in a word, it is the best place but one, in my judgment, which is Merrimack." The next is more particular. "This town is situated on a fair and delightful river, whose first rise is about twenty five miles in the country. The first part of its course is through a swamp, which is a great harbour for bears. The peopling of this town is by men of good rank and quality, many of them having the yearly revenue of large lands in England. It is a very good haven, yet barred a little at the mouth of the river. Here are some merchants, but Boston, being the chief place of shipping, carries away all the trade; but they have very good land for husbandry, where rocks hinder not the course of the plough; the Lord hath increased them in corn and cattle, so that they sell great quantities of corn, and in the fall, feed the town of Boston with good beef. Many of their houses are handsome, with pleasant gardens and orchards. They consist of about one hundred and forty families. Their meeting-house is a beautiful building, and commands a good prospect of the town. The church consists of about one hundred and sixty souls, being exact in their conversation." Such was,

and such is, the respectable character of this people. They are strangers to those divisions and animosities which injure and distress many other places. Another respectable authority gives this character of Ipswich church. "Here is a renowned church, consisting mostly of such illuminated christians, that their pastors, in the exercises of their ministry, might consider them as judges, rather than disciples."

The spirit of persecution still raged in England. Many of the persecuted, less enterprising than their brethren who had already migrated to America, had been waiting with solicitude to know their situation and prospects. Satisfied on these points from the accounts they had received, great numbers embarked this year, 1633, for New England. So numerous, and of such character were these emigrants, that the king in council thought fit to issue the following order, February 21, 1633. "Whereas the board is given to understand of the frequent transportations of great numbers of his majesty's subjects out of this kingdom to the plantation of New England, among whom, divers persons known to be ill affected, discontented, not only with civil but ecclesiastical government here, are observed to resort thither, whereby such confusion and distraction is already grown there, especially in point of religion, as besides the ruin of the said plantation, cannot but highly tend both to the scandal of church and state here: and whereas it was informed in particular, that there are at the present divers ships in the river of Thames, ready to set sail thither, freighted with passengers and provisions: it is thought fit, and ordered that stay should be forthwith made of the said ships until further order from the board. And the several masters and freighters of the same should attend the board, on Wednesday next, in the afternoon, with a list of the passengers and provisions in each ship. And that Mr. Cradock, a chief adventurer in that plantation, now present before the board, should be required to cause the letters patent for the said plantation to be brought to this board."

This order, however, in consequence of an able vindication of the conduct of the governor and colonists of New England, by such of the company as were present, did not put a stop to emigrations. In some of the summer months of this year, there arrived twelve or fourteen ships filled with passengers. Among the distinguished characters who came over about this time were Mr. Haynes, Sir Henry Vane, and the Rev. Messrs. Cotton, Hooker, and Stone. The first was afterwards

many years Governor of Connecticut. The second was the next year elected Governor of Massachusetts. The three last named were among the most eminent divines of that day, and their migration to New England, drew after them multitudes of the persecuted Puritans. Mr. Cotton is said to have been more useful and influential in settling the civil as well as ecclesiastical polity of New England than any other person.

Until this period the legislative powers had been exercised by the governor, deputy governor, and assistants, and the whole body of freemen in person, though the latter had been permitted to have but little share in the government; but the colony had now become so numerous that it was inconvenient, and indeed impracticable, to legislate in one assembly; nor was it safe, surrounded as they were, with hostile Indians, for the freemen to leave their families for so long a time unprotected: necessity, therefore, obliged them to establish a *representative form of government*, which they did by general consent, though no express provision was made for it in the charter. Accordingly, the freemen elected twenty-four deputies, who appeared in general court, April, 1634, as their representatives. Their first business was to assert the rights of the people by passing the following resolutions; viz. "That none but the general court had power to make and establish laws, or to elect and appoint officers as governor, deputy governor, assistants, treasurer, secretary, captains, lieutenants, ensigns, or any of like moment, or to remove such upon misdemeanour, or to set out the duties or powers of these officers. That none but the general court hath power to raise monies and taxes, and to dispose of lands, viz. to give and confirm proprieties." After these resolutions, they proceeded to the election of magistrates. Then they further determined, "That there shall be four general courts held yearly, to be summoned by the governor for the time being, and not to be dissolved but by consent of the major part of the court. That it shall be lawful for the freemen of each plantation to choose two or three, before every general court, to confer of, and prepare, such business as by them shall be thought fit to consider of at the next court; and that such persons as shall be hereafter so deputed by the freemen of the several plantations, to deal in their behalf in the affairs of the commonwealth, shall have the full power and voices of all the said freemen, derived to them for the making and establishing of laws, granting of lands, &c. and to deal in all other affairs of the commonwealth, wherein the freemen

have to do, the matter of election of magistrates and other officers only excepted, wherein every freeman is to give his own voice." And to shew their resentment, they imposed a fine upon the court of assistants for going contrary to an order of the general court. "The legislative body thus organized, continued without alteration (except that the number of general courts annually was reduced, in 1644, from four to two) till the loss of the charter in 1684. This is supposed to have been the second house of representatives that ever assembled in America. A house of burgesses met for the first time in Virginia, May, 1620, fourteen years before. Having thus established their form of government, the enactment of a code of laws was the next business in course. The leading characters among the colonists were of opinion that the subjects of any prince or state had a natural right to emigrate to any other state or country, when deprived of liberty of conscience, and that upon such a removal their allegiance ceased. They considered their subjection to the crown of England as voluntary, and founded on mutual compact, and this compact was their charter. They maintained their right to make their own laws, and to elect their own magistrates, but acknowledged that their laws must not be repugnant to those of England; and that by their compact they had no right to be subject to, nor seek protection from any foreign prince. With these sentiments, and without any partiality for the laws of their mother country, under which they had suffered so many hardships, it is not surprising that they did not adopt the laws of England as the foundation of their code. The peculiarity of their situation, indeed, rendered corresponding laws and regulations necessary. And as their leading object in migrating to this country, was to enjoy liberty of conscience, and to support and transmit pure to their posterity, the religion of the bible; and finding in this book the leading principles of good government, and a system of laws for the general regulation of human conduct, they adopted it as their "principal code of law, and declared, as an article in their bill of rights, that no man should suffer but by an express law, sufficiently published, yet in case of a defect of law in any particular instance, *by the word of God*. It is obvious to all, in the present age, that the peculiarities of the Jewish nation must render their jurisprudence inapplicable, in a variety of instances, to a people so differently circumstanced; and the rights of individuals could gain nothing by neglecting the experience of mankind, in former

judicial proceedings, where they were in any degree similar to cases which might arise. The code of laws became marked with many additional capital crimes, unknown as such to those of England; and smaller offences were multiplied with rigorous exactness. As this severity had for its object an exemplary purity of morals and religion, which should extend to every person in society, it of course reached the more private actions of its members, and included all the relationships subsisting between them. Their capital offences were idolatry, witchcraft, blasphemy, murder, bestiality, sodomy, adultery, man-stealing, bearing false witness, conspiracy, and rebellion, cursing, or smiting a parent, unless when neglected in education, or provoked by extreme and cruel correction, rebellious and stubborn conduct in a son disobeying the voice and chastisement of his parents, and living in notorious crimes, rape, and arson; other offences were also made capital upon a second or third conviction, and the degree of the offence was in some instances increased by the circumstances of its being committed on the sabbath. In the inferior classes of crimes, were many peculiar to the situation of the colony, especially with regard to sumptuary regulations and the enforcing of industry. In these there are strong proofs of the disposition which prevailed, of shewing respect to particular descriptions of families by distinctions in their favour. Their punishments bore a resemblance to the general rigour of their penal code, and were sometimes, even in capital cases, left to the discretion of their judges. There is a law on the subject of torture, which is a stain rather upon the volume in which it is recorded, than upon the practice of the country; to the honour of which it may be said, that the use of this statute has been so little contemplated, that it became wholly obsolete. This law prohibits torture generally, but excepts any case in which the criminal is first fully convicted, by clear and sufficient evidence; after which, if it be apparent from the nature of the case, that there be confederates with him, he may be tortured, yet not with such tortures as are barbarous and inhuman. The very terms of this statute seem to disarm it of the power of injuring, and would render it, if it were in force, a less dreadful engine of inhumanity, than the *peine forte et dure* of the English law. The rigour of justice extended itself as well to the protection of the rights of property, as to the moral habits of the people; and a remarkable instance of this is shewn in the power given to creditors over the persons of their debtors. The law ad-

mitted of a freeman's being sold for service to discharge his debts, though it would not allow of the sacrifice of his time, by his being kept in prison, unless some estate was concealed. The governor and assistants were the first judicial court; to this, inferior jurisdictions were added; and upon the house of representatives coming into existence, the judicial authority was shared by them, as in the words of their law, the second branch of the civil power of this commonwealth. The subordinate jurisdictions were the individual magistrates, the commissioners of towns and the county courts. These seem, in some sense, to have acted as the deputies of the general court, since, in difficult points, they were allowed to state the case without the names of the parties, to that court, and receive its declaration of the law. The perpetual controversy incident to dividing power among several orders, disproportionate in their numbers, took place between the assistants and representatives. Whether they should vote in separate bodies or collectively, became a serious dispute. As by a defect in the constitution they held both legislative and judicial authority; it was at last compromised, that in making the laws, the houses should vote separately, with a negative upon each other; but in trying causes, in case they should differ in this mode, they should proceed to determine the question by voting together. As in their government, hereditary claims were rejected, their public officers being all periodically chosen from the body of the freemen, and without regard to distinct orders, so in the descent and distribution of real or personal estates of intestates, the exclusive claim of any one heir was not admitted, but equal division was made among all, reserving only to the eldest son a double portion. This, especially in case of a numerous family, which is not an uncommon instance in a young country, effectually prevented the undue accumulation of property. These two regulations may be said to be the great pillars on which republican liberty in Massachusetts is supported. There was an inestimable advantage gained to the cause of freedom by a law, in 1641, which declares the lands of the inhabitants free from all fines and licences upon alienation, heriots, wardships, and the whole train of feudal exactions, which have so grievously oppressed mankind in other parts of the world. They tendered hospitality and succour to all christian strangers, flying from the tyranny of their persecutors, or from famine, wars, or the like compulsory cause, and

entitled them to the same law and justice as was administered "among themselves."

But while they have thus scrupulously regulated the morals of the inhabitants within the colony, and offered it as an asylum to the oppressed among mankind, they neglected not to prevent the contagion of dissimilar habits, and heretical principles from without. A law was made, in the year 1637, that none should be received to inhabit within the jurisdiction, but such as should be allowed by some of the magistrates; and it was fully understood, that differing from the religious tenets generally received in the country, was as great a disqualification as any political opinions whatever. In a defence of this order, it is advanced, that the apostolic rule of rejecting such as brought not the true doctrine with them, was as applicable to the commonwealth as the church, and that even the profane were less to be dreaded, than the able advocates of erroneous opinions."

CHAP. IX.

Character of first Settlers—New Hampshire and Maine settled—Exeter planted.

THE first settlers of New England were certainly a remarkable people; of a character peculiarly adapted to those important designs in Providence which they were to fulfil. They were destined to plant and subdue a wilderness, filled with savage and ferocious enemies; to lay the foundation of a great empire; and this too under the jealous and unpropitious eye of their parent country. Accordingly they were enterprising, brave, patient of labour and sufferings, and possessed a firmness of spirit, and a zeal for religion bordering on enthusiasm. They had also among them their full proportion of the learned and best informed men of that age. A body of men more remarkable for their piety, more exemplary in their morals, more respectable for their wisdom, never before, nor since, commenced the settlement of any country. What have been considered as blemishes in their character seemed necessary in their situation. "Less rigour would have disqualified them for discharging the heavy duties which they had to perform, and perhaps, more liberality would have introduced sectaries, which would have weakened the community by divisions, and profligates, who would have corrupted it by their vices." One

of the first statesmen in America, John Adams, late President of the United States, has thus characterised the fathers of New England. "Religious, to some degree of enthusiasm, it may be admitted they were, but this can be no peculiar derogation from their character, because it was at that time almost the universal character, not only of England, but of Christendom; had this, however, been otherwise, their enthusiasm, considering the principles on which it was directed, far from being a reproach, was greatly to their honour. For I believe it will be found universally true, *that no great enterprise for the honour, or happiness of mankind, was ever achieved, without a large mixture of that noble infirmity.* Whatever imperfections may be justly ascribed to them, which, however, are as few as any mortals have discovered, their judgment in forming their policy was founded on wise and benevolent principles; it was founded on revelation and reason too; it was consistent with the best, greatest, and wisest legislators of antiquity." Inextinguishable zeal for liberty was a prominent feature of their character. Not the mad democracy of modern growth, but a rational and safe enjoyment of civil and religious privileges, was the great object of their pursuit. For several years the government was administered by the governor, deputy governor, and judges of the court or assistants. In 1630 it was voted by the freemen of the commonwealth, that they would choose the assistants themselves, that the assistants should choose the governors from their own body, who, with the assistants, should have the power of making laws, and of appointing officers to execute them. This surely was not democracy. But a regard for religion was their master passion, which swallowed up the rest; this is evident, not only from their constant professions, but from their customs, their institutions, their laws, and various other circumstances by which the character of a community is known.

A learned writer observes, "that laws are the best index of the spirit of a government; that had commerce been the object of those, who settled New England, their laws would have been commercial; but their object was religion; the first laws of New England were wholly adapted to promote religion." A law of Massachusetts, 1646, declares, that "if any one shall contemptuously treat the gospel preached, or the faithful preacher, in any congregation, or, like Korah, cast reproach upon the doctrine or minister, he shall for the first offence be reprov'd by the magistrate at some lecture, and bound to his

good behavior. For a second offence, he should pay five pounds to the public treasury, or stand two hours openly on a block or stool four feet high, on a lecture day, with this sentence in capitals fixed on his breast; "*An open and obstinate contemner of God's holy ordinances.*" The same year it was enacted that whoever neglected to attend public worship on the sabbath, and those fast and thanksgiving days appointed by authority, "without just and necessary cause," should be fined five shillings for every such neglect. Nor may we with justice pass over their generous and cordial attachment to "the mother country." An English writer, who early visited New England, declares, "no people are more loyal, none more fond of the distinguished name of Englishmen." If there can be any doubt of this fact, an address, made by the founders of Massachusetts colony, to the church of England, when they left their native country, must give perfect satisfaction. "We esteem it our honour," say they, "to call the church of England our dear mother, and cannot part from our native country, where she especially resideth, without much sadness of heart, and many tears, ever acknowledging that such hope and part as we have in the common salvation, we have received in her bosom, and from her breasts; we leave it not, therefore, loathing the milk which has nourished us, but blessing God for our parentage and education; as members of the same body, we shall always rejoice in her good, and grieve for her sorrow, desiring her welfare and the enlargement of her bounds. Commend to the prayers of your congregations the necessities of your neighbours, the church springing out of your own bowels. We conceive much hope that your prayers will be a prosperous gale in our sails. We also entreat of you, that are ministers of God, we crave it of our private brethren, at no time to forget us in your private solicitations at the throne of grace." Did ever children leave a parent's house in a more affectionate manner?

In the years 1621 and 1622, captain John Mason, and Sir Ferdinando Gorges, obtained grants of the Plymouth council (of which they were the most active members) of all the country between Naumkeag, (now Sulem) and Sagadahock river; and back to the lakes of Canada. The track between Naumkeag and Merrimack, which was granted to Mason, he called *Mariana*. The rest, granted jointly to both, they named *Laconia*. The next year (1623) they planted a colony, and established a fishery on Piscataqua river. About the same

time a variety of other little settlements were formed on the coast between the Merrimack and Sagadahock rivers. But none of them flourished, being "rather temporary establishments for traffic, than seed plots of future plantations." So slow was the progress of the settlements in this part of New England, that fifteen years after their commencement, (in July, 1638) when Josselyn sailed along this coast, he saw, he observes, "no other than a mere wilderness, here and there by the sea side, scattered plantations with a few houses."

In 1629, the southeastern part of the present state of New Hampshire was purchased of the Indians, and a deed obtained of them by John Wheelwright and others from Massachusetts. The same year Capt. Mason procured a new patent from the council of Plymouth for a still larger tract, including this Indian purchase. This tract was now named **NEW HAMPSHIRE**. For several years after this, the adventurers paid very little attention to agriculture. They imported their bread corn from England and Virginia. Their views were chiefly turned to the discovery of the lakes, and of mines, to the cultivation of grapes, to the peltry trade, and the fisheries supported the inhabitants, but neither lakes nor mines were found, and the vines which they planted perished. Discouraged by ill success; the adventurers in England sold their shares to Mason and Gorges, who, in consequence, became the sole proprietors. They, in 1634, renewed their exertions to increase the colony, and appointed Francis Williams, a wise and popular man, its governor. An attempt was made by Mason and Gorges, about this time, to divide New England into twelve lordships, under the direction of a general governor. This scheme was countenanced at court, but was never adopted, and produced no material injury to the rights of the settlers.

The religious views and sentiments of Mason and Gorges did not accord with those of the planters of Massachusetts; the object of the latter was to establish a christian community for the preservation and spread of pure religion and liberty of conscience; while that of the former was to plant colonies, which should yield them wealth and power. The enterprize of Mason and Gorges, was, however, at this period, exemplary and useful, as it served to excite a spirit of emulation in other adventurers, and their memory deserves respect. Capt. Mason died in the winter of 1635-6. Governor Winthrop, in his journal, makes the following remark on his death, evincive of the temper of those times. "He was the chief mover in all

attempts against us, (the Massachusetts colony) and was to have sent the general governor: and for this end was providing ships. But the Lord, *in mercy*, took him away, and all the business fell on sleep."

In April, 1639, Gorges obtained from Charles I. a confirmation of his patent, and "his limits were now extended to one hundred miles from the rivers southwestward into the desert." This tract was called MAINE. By this patent Gorges was invested with all the royal rights of a Count palatinate, with greater powers than had ever been granted by a sovereign to a subject. Encouraged by these attentions, and invested with authority, the following year he established civil government within the province, appointed Josselyn and others his counsellors, and transmitted to them (March, 1640) ordinances to regulate them in the administration of justice. But he possessed not the talents requisite to the government of a colony; the constitution he had formed for Maine was merely executive, without any legislative powers, nor did it provide any assembly in which the people might be represented. Encouragement was not given to emigrants to purchase and cultivate his lands. Agriculture was neglected. Lands were granted, not as freeholds, but by leases, subject to quit rents, and no provision was made for the regular support of the clergy. With such a government and such regulations, it could not be expected that the colony would flourish; on the contrary, "the province languished for years in hopeless imbecility; and its languors ceased, and a principle of life was infused, only when he ceased to be its proprietary and lawgiver." The town of York, however, was incorporated by him, with city privileges, in 1641, though this circumstance seems to have added neither to its wealth nor importance.

The Rev. John Wheelwright, brother of the famous Ann Hutchinson, finding opposition too powerful, quitted Massachusetts, and, with a number of his followers, planted the town of Exeter. Sensible of the necessity of government and laws, of which they were destitute, thirty-five persons, in October, 1639, "combined themselves, in the name of Christ, to erect such a government as should be agreeable to the will of God." They considered themselves as subjects of England, acknowledged the laws of the realm, and promised obedience to such laws as should be made by their own representatives, and chose a Mr. Underhill for their governor. Their situation, however, was neither happy nor prosperous. Not long after,

a small, but more respectable number of persons from England' settled at Dover, and in October, 1640, these people, and those who had planted themselves at Portsmouth; under Williams, formed themselves each into a body politic.

Four distinct governments; (including one at Kittery on the north side of the river) were now formed on the several branches of the Piscataqua. These combinations being only voluntary agreements, liable to be broken or subdivided on the first popular discontent, there could be no safety in the continuance of them. The distractions in England, at this time, had cut off all hope of the royal attention, and the people of the several settlements were too much divided in their opinions to form any general plan of government, which could afford a prospect of permanent utility. The more considerate persons among them, therefore, thought it best to treat with Massachusetts, about taking them under their protection. That government was glad of an opportunity to realize the construction which they had put upon the clause of their charter wherein their northern limits are defined; for a line drawn from east to west at the distance of "three miles to the northward of Merrimack river, and of any and every part thereof," which would take in the whole province of New Hampshire, and the greater part of the province of Maine, so that both Mason's and Gorges's patents must have been vacated. They had already intimated their intention to run this east and west line, and presuming on the justice of their claim, they readily entered into a negotiation with the principal settlers of Piscataqua respecting their incorporation with them. The affair was more than a year in agitation, and was at length concluded by an instrument subscribed in the presence of the general court, by George Wyllys, Robert Saltonstall, William Whiting, Edward Holiock, and Thomas Makepeace, in behalf of themselves and the other partners of the two patents; by which instrument they resigned the jurisdiction of the whole to Massachusetts, on condition that the inhabitants should enjoy the same liberties with their own people, and have a court of justice erected among them. The property of the whole patent of Portsmouth, and of one third part of that of Dover, and of all their improved lands was reserved to the lords and gentlemen proprietors, and to their heirs for ever. Thus New Hampshire ceased to be a separate province. Each of the associations before mentioned dissolved their respective compacts,

which had been productive of much contention and anarchy, and peaceably submitted to Massachusetts.

CHAP. X.

Settlement of Connecticut—Character of the Reverend Mr. Davenport.

THE present territory of Connecticut, at the time of the first arrival of the English, was possessed by the Pequot, the Mohegan, Podunk, and many other smaller tribes of Indians. The Pequots were numerous and warlike. Their country extended along the sea coast from Paukatuck to Connecticut river. About the year 1630, this powerful tribe extended their conquests over a considerable part of Connecticut, over all Long Island and a part of Narraganset. SASSACUS, who was the grand monarch of the whole country, was king of this nation. The seat of his dominion was at New London; the ancient Indian name of which was Pequot. The Mohegans were a numerous tribe, and their territory extensive. Their ancient claim comprehended most of New London county, almost the whole of the county of Windham, and a part of the counties of Tolland and Hartford. UNCUS, distinguished for his friendship to the English, was the sachem of this tribe. The Podunks inhabited East Hartford, and the circumjacent country. The first sachem of this tribe, of whom the English had any knowledge, was Tatanimoo. He was able to bring into the field more than two hundred fighting men.

The first grant of Connecticut was made by the Plymouth council to the Earl of Warwick, in 1630, and confirmed by his majesty in council the same year. This grant comprehended "all that part of New England which lies west from Narraganset river, one hundred and twenty miles on the sea coast." The year following, the Earl assigned this grant to Lord Say and Seal, Lord Brook, and nine others, who held it in trust for the Puritan emigrants from England.

In the year 1631, Wahquimacut, a sachem of one of the tribes upon the Connecticut river, visited the governors of Massachusetts and Plymouth, and earnestly besought them to make a settlement upon that river. Wahquimacut was induced to make this request from a hope that the English might protect him and his nation against the Pequots, who, from their number and power, threatened to exterminate the river

tribes. To persuade the English to comply with his request, he represented to them the fertility of the country, and its advantages for trade, and promised to give them eighty beaver skins, and an annual supply of corn. Mr. Winthrop, the governor of Massachusetts, was not inclined to accept the offer. Mr. Winslow, the governor of Plymouth, thought it worthy of consideration, and, that he might judge of the truth of the sachem's representations, he visited the river in the latter part of this year.

In 1632, a more particular examination of the river and adjoining territories was made by the people of New Plymouth, with a design to fix upon a proper site for a trading house. Having found a suitable situation, they endeavoured to engage governor Winthrop and his council to unite with them in this new settlement; but not having succeeded in this attempt they resolved to undertake it by themselves. Accordingly, in October, 1633, William Holmes of Plymouth, with a small company of men, sailed up the Connecticut, and erected a trading house a short distance below the mouth of the little river in Windsor. This was the first house that was erected in Connecticut. The English, thus established, treated the Indians with justice and kindness; and the Indians in return testified to them, in every possible manner, affection and good will. The fierce and high spirited Pequots were the only people who refused this interchange of good offices, and who thus early manifested a deep animosity toward the English. The same year, a little before the arrival of the English, a company of Dutch traders came to Hartford, and built a house which they called *Good Hope*, and erected a small fort, in which they planted two cannon. The remains of this settlement are still visible on the bank of Connecticut river. They erected another fort among the Indians at Totoket, now Branford. These were the only settlements of the Dutch in Connecticut in these ancient times. The Dutch, and after them the province of New York, for a long time, claimed as far east as the western bank of Connecticut river. The justice of this claim has ever been disputed by the English. Douglass says, "The partition line between New York and Connecticut, as established December 1st, 1664, runs from the mouth of Memoricok river, (a little west from Byram river,) NNW., and was the ancient easterly limits of New York, until November 23d, 1683, when the line was run nearly the same as it is now settled."

In 1634, Lord Say and Seal, &c. sent over a small number of men, who built a fort at Saybrook, and held a treaty with the Pequot Indians, who, in a formal manner, gave to the English their right to Connecticut river and the adjacent country. The same year the inhabitants of Dorchester, Watertown, and Newtown, applied to the general court of Massachusetts for permission to remove to Connecticut. After warm and long debates, this permission was refused. Nevertheless, the body of the people of Dorchester, and of the towns of Newtown, Cambridge, and Watertown, determined to remove.

In the summer of 1635, many of them performed the dangerous and laborious journey across the wilderness to Connecticut river. At the time of their removal, the Dutch had extended their claim to the river, and made a settlement a few miles below Windsor. The fortitude of those pious adventurers was truly wonderful. About one hundred men, women, and children took their departure from the three towns before-mentioned, to travel through an unexplored wilderness. They were fourteen days performing the tedious journey. The wilderness, through which they passed, for the first time, resounded with the praises of God. They prayed, and sung psalms and hymns as they marched along; the Indians following and looking on them in silent admiration. They arrived at this river, the object of their ardent expectation, near the mouth of Scantic river in East Windsor. The Dorchester people, with Mr. Wareham for their minister, began the settlement of Windsor on the west side of the river; they suffered great hardships the first winter, and their cattle perished for want of food; for to carry much provision or furniture through a pathless wilderness was impracticable. Their principal provisions and household furniture had been put on board several small vessels, which, by reason of delays, and the tempestuousness of the season, were either cast away, or did not arrive. Several vessels were wrecked on the shore of New England, by the violence of the storms. Every resource appeared to fail, and the people were under the dreadful apprehensions of perishing by famine. They supported themselves in this distressing period with that heroic firmness and magnanimity, for which the first settlers of New England had been so eminently distinguished. The Indians on and near the river were numerous. Three sachemdoms were in the vicinity. The seat of one was near the mouth of Podunk river, lying in the southwest corner of East Windsor. A second at Middletown, twenty

miles below, and the third at Farmington, about twelve miles west of Windsor. Some of the first settlers of Windsor were gentlemen of opulence and education, as were also those of Hartford and Weathersfield. The right of settling here they purchased of the old Plymouth company in England, and they paid the Indians for the soil. They had sent some men, the year preceding their removal, to make the purchase of the natives, whom they looked upon as the only rightful proprietors. In October following, a number of people from Watertown, settled Weathersfield. The 31st of the next March, Mr. Hooker, with most of his congregation, removed from Newtown and settled Hartford. Mrs. Hooker was carried in a horse-litter; they drove one hundred and sixty cattle, and fed on their milk by the way. The inhabitants of these towns met and formed a constitution of government, and entered into a solemn agreement, dated January 14, 1638. Under this original constitution, formed by the people themselves, an independant government was established and administered till 1662. During this time many more towns were settled, and christian churches organized. Application was then made to the king of England for a charter, that they might enjoy the protection and liberties of free born Englishmen. The petition was heard, and the charter granted, on condition the people paid to the king one fifth part of the gold and silver ore which should be discovered. Under this charter, which established the substance of the constitution they had formed for themselves, the people of Connecticut have lived secure and happy for almost two centuries. It has retained its force in periods of political fanaticism and revolutionary madness; it has seen the constitutions of neighbouring states rise and fall like billows of the deep; itself, like a rock in the surge, unmoved and unhurt. Notwithstanding its strong democratic features, it is the pride of its subjects, and the boast of legislators.

The first settlers of Connecticut encountered serious difficulties, though not so great as their brethren of Massachusetts and Plymouth, nor perhaps so great as they themselves had experienced before, on their arrival. There is no account of such fatal sickness among them as the other colonies had suffered. Still had they full opportunity to exercise their self-denial and fortitude. In November, two shallops, going with goods to Connecticut, were cast away in a north-east storm on Brown's Island, near the Gurnet's nose, and the men all drowned. The

same month, a pinnace, returning from Connecticut, was cast away in Manomet Bay, the men, six in number, were saved, and wandered ten days in extremely cold weather, and a deep snow, before they reached Plymouth, without meeting even an Indian. Soon after, ten men arrived in Massachusetts from Connecticut. They had been ten days on the journey, having lost one of their number, who fell through the ice and was drowned, and had they not found a friendly wigwam, all would have been starved. On the fifteenth of November, Connecticut river was frozen over. The people of Windsor, who removed their cattle, lost the greater part of them this winter; yet some, which came too late to be carried over the river, took good care of themselves, and looked well without hay. They lost £2000 worth of cattle, and were reduced themselves to great sufferings for want of food, being obliged to eat acorns, malt, and grains. The next fall, a bark sailing down the river, the people went on shore, and were assaulted by the Indians; one was killed, another made a prisoner, whose hands and feet they cut off, and tortured to death. The following spring the Pequots, near Weathersfield, killed six men while at work in the field; three women also were killed, and two maids taken captive; at the same time they killed twenty cows and a horse. The first court held in Connecticut was at Weathersfield, April 26, 1636. The next year the colony carried war into the country of the Pequots.

Upon the forced surrender of the Plymouth Company's patent to the crown, in 1635, the whole territory of New England was regrant in large partitions to a number of lords and proprietors; and among the rest, were granted to the duke of Hamilton all the lands between Narraganset and Connecticut rivers, and back into the country indefinitely. This covered a part of the Earl of Warwick's patent, and occasioned some disputes in the colony. There were several attempts to revive the Hamilton claim, but they were never prosecuted. The patent of Lord Say and Seal prevailed. In consequence of the Pequot war, 1637, the English obtained the country east of the Dutch settlements, by right of conquest. The pursuit of the Indians led to an acquaintance with the lands on the sea coast, from Saybrook to Fairfield. It was reported to be a very fine country. Messrs. Eaton and Hopkins, two very respectable London merchants, and Mr. Davenport, a man of distinguished piety and abilities, with their company, who arrived this year (1637) from London, made choice of this part of the country

as the place of their settlement. "Within the Earl of Warwick's patent, 1631, and under the patronage of Lord Say and Seal, to whom the said patent had been assigned, and who held for the settlers both at Connecticut, Saybrook, Quinipioke, and Pequot, and under whom all held who settled within the limits of Lord Say and Seal's (originally the Earl of Warwick's) patent; which, together with Massachusetts and Plymouth, which had passed from the Plymouth Company before 1630, as well as New Hampshire and Ferdinando Gorges's Province of Maine, were saved from the arbitrary absorption of the surrendry of 1635." Their friends in Massachusetts, sorry to part with so valuable a company, dissuaded them from their purpose. Influenced, however, by the promising prospects which the country afforded, they determined to proceed. Accordingly, in the fall of 1637, they sent four men, who wintered at Quinipioke, and in March, 1638, a body sufficient for three towns removed from Boston, under the leading of Mr. Eaton, and settled at New Haven, and laid the foundation of a flourishing colony, of which Quinipioke, now New Haven, was the chief town. The first public worship in this new plantation was attended on Lord's day, April 18, 1638, under a large spreading oak. The Rev. Mr. Davenport preached from Matt. iii. 1. on the temptations of the wilderness. Both colonies, Connecticut and New Haven, formed themselves into distinct commonwealths, and remained so until their union in 1665.

The first church was gathered in New Haven in 1639, and consisted of seven members. These were chosen by the settlers after Mr. Davenport had preached from the words of Solomon, "Wisdom hath builded her house; she hath hewed out her seven pillars." These men were indeed the pillars of the church, to whom the rest were added as they became qualified. They were also the court to try all civil actions. Mr. Davenport, a father to this infant colony, was an eminent christian, a learned divine, and a great man. He was born at Coventry, in 1597, of respectable parents, and sent to college at Oxford before he was fourteen years old. Thence he was called to preach in London, at the age of nineteen, where his rare accomplishments, and his courage in visiting the sick in the time of a terrible plague, soon brought him into notice. By his great industry and midnight studies, he became an universal scholar, and his sermons were distinguished by the labour with which they were prepared. In his delivery he had

a gravity, an energy, a pleasantness, and engaging eloquence not common among his brethren. His enemies allowed him to be an excellent preacher. Finding himself obnoxious, and in danger from the ruling party in London, he convened the principal people of his charge, desiring their opinion and advice, acknowledging their right to him as their pastor, and declaring that no danger should drive him from any service for their benefit, which they should require or even expect. With a noble disinterestedness of soul, which did them honour, and demonstrated the tenderness of their affection, they relieved him from his scruples of conscience; they advised him to resign his office for his own safety. Instead of enjoying the quiet he now expected, he found himself more officiously watched than ever. He therefore, in 1633, retired to Holland, where he was immediately invited to be a colleague of Mr. Paget, pastor of a church in Amsterdam. But very soon his objections against their promiscuous mode of baptizing children excited formidable opposition, and he early found that he must baptise children where there was no charitable evidence of their belonging to christian parents, or give up his relation to his people; he was too well informed to entertain any doubts; he was too honest to hesitate. In 1635, he retired from his pulpit in Amsterdam, and opened a catechetical exercise at his lodgings, every Lord's day, in the afternoon, an hour after the public services of the city were over. But the popularity of his talents soon collecting considerable numbers, jealousies were indulged, and opposition broke forth. He returned to England, telling his friends, that he "thought God had carried him to Holland on purpose to bear witness against that promiscuous baptism, which bordered on a profanation of the holy ordinance." It was an observation of his, that when a reformation of the church had been effected in any age or country, it was seldom that any advance was made afterward beyond the improvements of its first reformers. He observed, that Noah's ark might as easily be removed from Ararat, as people persuaded to proceed beyond the first remove of their leaders. This coincides with a remark of the celebrated Robinson. "The Calvinists," says he, "stick just where that great man left them." He had long been a friend to New England. He was one of those by whom the patent of Massachusetts had been obtained. His purse and his time had been devoted to this country before he went to Holland. This now seemed to be the only field in which he could carry his

ideas of reformation to their extent. About this time Mr. Cotton, of Boston, wrote to him, that "the order of the churches and the commonwealth was now so settled in New England, that it brought to his mind the new heaven and new earth, in which dwell righteousness." Very soon after, in 1637, Mr. Davenport, with several eminent christians and their families, came over to New England. "Among these were Mr. Eaton and Mr. Hopkins, two merchants of London, men of fair estates, and of great esteem for religion and wisdom in outward affairs." When they arrived, they found the colony of Massachusetts agitated with the wickedness and absurdities of antinomian and enthusiastic opinions, the influence of a "bold" woman having shaken the pillars of the government, and threatened the existence of the churches. She held public assemblies at her house, and expounded the Scriptures to them. Mr. Davenport arrived just before the synod met at Cambridge to consider the errors of the day. His influence there was very happy; at the close he declared the result, and preached a sermon from Phil. iii. 15. in which he "shewed the occasion of differences among christians, and with much wisdom and sound argument, persuaded to unity." In March, Mr. Davenport, Mr. Predden, and a brother of Mr. Eaton, all ministers of the gospel, sailed for Quinipioke, and with them many families removed from Massachusetts to settle there, having conceived a high opinion of the soil, and expecting to escape the power of a general governor whom they feared would soon be sent. The people of Massachusetts parted very reluctantly with these valuable brethren. Charlestown made them large offers to induce them to settle there. Newbury generously offered them their whole town; the legislature offered them any place they should choose, which had not already been granted. At his new plantation, afterward called New Haven, Mr. Davenport endeavoured to establish a civil and religious order more strictly according to the word of God than he had seen exhibited in any other part of the world. He was an original genius, and the plan he adopted was his own: and if success be any evidence of merit, he certainly has high claims to the veneration and gratitude of nations. There the famous church of New Haven, says his biographer, and also the neighbouring towns, enjoyed his ministry, his discipline, his *government*, and his *universal direction* for many years. The holiness, the watchfulness, the usefulness of his ministry, are worthy of remembrance among all those who would have before them an exam-

ple of ministerial excellence His attention and influence extended to all the churches. He was a man of devotion, and it was a saying of his, that ejaculatory prayer was like arrows in the hands of the mighty; happy is the man who hath his quiver full of them. He was scrupulously careful in admitting persons to church communion. Church purity was one of the great objects of his life. It was a fixed principle with him, that no person should be admitted a member of a church, but those who make such a public profession of faith as the church may in discretion judge has salvation promised to it, and "which flesh and blood hath not revealed." He was persuaded there are many rules in the word of God, by which it may be judged who are saints, and by which those who admit others to gospel ordinances are to be guided, so as to separate between the precious and the vile. This is no more than what every sect, and indeed every individual, claims for themselves. The only difference is, they do not all fix on the same standard for admission to their communion. One makes freedom from gross immoralities a test for a good character; another habitual morality; another orthodoxy; and another requires opposition to certain things; but all have their limits, beyond which they do not, and will not, pass to receive members to their communion. Mr. Davenport had the same right to his terms of communion that other men have to theirs. He thought too much caution could not be used where some persons may think very little is necessary. His own words are—"The officers and brethren of the church are but men, who judge by outward appearance; therefore their judgement is fallible, and hath been deceived, as in the reception of Ananias, Sapphira, and Simon Magus. Their duty is to proceed, as far as men may, by rule, with due moderation and gentleness to try those who offer themselves for fellowship, whether they be believers or not. When they have done all, hypocrites will creep in." He was remarkable for diligence in his studies; this was noticed by the Indians, who used to call him *the big study man*. Mr. Davenport continued at New Haven till 1667, when such was his vigour, though in his sixty-ninth year, such his fame in the churches, that he was invited to Boston to succeed a Cotton, a Norton and a Wilson. He continued in his new situation only till March 15, 1670, when, by an apoplexy, he was called from his labours in the seventy-second year of his age.

The following account of this plantation is from one of our

early writers, "The government of New Haven, although the younger sister of the four, yet is she as beautiful as any of this brood of travellers, and most minding the end of her coming hither, to keep close to the rule of Christ both in doctrine and discipline; and it were to be wished her elder sister would follow her example to nurture up all her children accordingly."

CHAP. XI.

History of Connecticut continued—Character of the Rev. Mr. Thomas Hooker.

THE first settlers in New Haven had all things common; all purchases were made in the name and for the use of the whole plantation, and the lands were apportioned out to each family according to their number and original stock. At their first election, in October, 1639, Mr. Theophilus Eaton was chosen governor for the first year. Their elections, by agreement, were to be annual, and the word of God their only rule in conducting the affairs of government in the plantation.

The confederation of the New England colonies, formed and entered into by the four principal colonies of Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven, in 1643, continued in force till the time of Sir Edmund Andros, 1686, and were of great utility, both for defence against the aborigines, and for harmonizing the public councils in church and state. At the time of this confederation the colonies of Connecticut and New Haven consisted of only three towns each. The general court of New Haven this year established it as a fundamental article, that none be admitted as free burgesses but church members, and that none but such should vote at elections. They also ordained, that each town choose from among themselves judges (church members) to be a court, to have cognizance of all civil actions not exceeding twenty pounds; and of criminal cases, where the punishment was, sitting in the stocks, whipping, and fining not exceeding five pounds. There was liberty of appeal from this court to the court of magistrates. The court of magistrates consisted of all the magistrates throughout the colony, who were to meet twice a year at New Haven, for the trial of all capital causes. Six made a quorum. The general court was to consist of the governor, deputy governor, magistrates, and two representatives from each town. The annual election of officers of government was at this time

established, and has ever since continued. The unsettled state of the colony had hitherto prevented their establishing a code of laws. To supply this defect, the general court ordered "that the judicial laws of God, as they were delivered to Moses, and as they are a fence to the moral, being neither typical nor ceremonial, nor having any reference to Canaan, shall be accounted of moral equity and generally bind all offenders, and be a rule to all the courts in this jurisdiction in their proceedings against offenders, until they be branched out into particulars hereafter." About this time a war broke out between the Mohegan and Narraganset Indians. A personal quarrel between Onkus, sachem of Mohegan, and Sequesson, sachem of Connecticut, was the foundation of the war.

In consideration of the success and increase of the New England colonies, and that they had been of *no charge* to the nation, and in prospect of their being in future very serviceable to it, the English parliament, March 10, 1643, granted them an exemption from all customs, subsidies, and other duties, until further order. In 1644, the Connecticut adventurers purchased of Mr. Fenwick, agent for Lord Say and Seal and Lord Brook, their right to the colony of Connecticut, for one thousand six hundred pounds.

In 1647 died Mr. Thomas Hooker, a pillar of Connecticut colony, and a great light of the churches in this western world. He was born at Marfield, in Leicestershire, 1586. He was educated at Emanuel College, Cambridge, in England, where he was afterwards promoted to a fellowship, in which office "he acquitted himself with such ability and faithfulness, as commanded universal admiration and applause." It was in this period of his life, that he had such deep convictions of his own lost state, and exposedness to the wrath of God, as filled his mind with anguish and horror. With the singer of Israel he was ready to exclaim, "While I suffer thy terrors, O Lord, I am distracted." Afterwards, speaking of these exercises, he said that in the time of his distress he could reason himself to the rule of duty, and see there was no way of relief, but submission to God, and lying at the foot of mercy, waiting for the divine favour; but when he applied the rule to practice he found his reasoning fail him. After enduring this spirit of bondage for a considerable time, he received light and comfort, when his mind became powerfully and pleasantly attached to religious contemplations. It was now his custom, when retiring to rest at night, to select some particular promise of scripture, which

he repeated and reflected upon in his waking hours. In this he found so much comfort and improvement, that he advised others to adopt the same course. He now determined to be a preacher of the gospel, and soon entered on the business, in the vicinity of London. He was immediately distinguished for his ministerial talents, especially for comforting persons under spiritual troubles. Being disappointed as to a desired settlement at Dedham, he became a lecturer at Chelmsford, and an assistant to Mr. Mitchel, the incumbent of the place. This was in 1626. His lectures were soon thronged, and remarkable success attended his preaching. A reformation followed, not only in the town, but in the adjacent country. By a multitude of inns in the town, which are the ruin of any place, the people of Chelmsford had become notorious for their intemperance and profanation of the sabbath. By the influence of Mr. Hooker's ministry, these vices were banished, and the sabbath visibly sanctified by the people. This great blessing was continued to them but a short time. In about four years his difficulties, on account of his nonconformity, were so great, that he gave up his pulpit, and retired to a school, which he kept in his own house. Though his best employment was gone, happily his *influence* was not lost. This was all exerted for the benefit of the christian cause. He engaged the serious ministers in his vicinity to establish a monthly meeting for prayer and fasting, and theological conferences. By his influence several pious young ministers were settled around him, and others more confirmed in the system of genuine gospel truth. So great was his popularity at the time of his being silenced, that no less than forty-seven *conforming* ministers of the neighbourhood, who might have been expected to be in opposition to him, petitioned the bishop of London in his behalf. They say, that "they esteem and know the said Mr. Thomas Hooker to be for doctrine, orthodox; for life and conversation, honest; for disposition, peaceable, and in no wise turbulent or factious." These powerful mediators could not prevail. About the year 1630, he was bound over in a bond of fifty pounds to appear before the High Commission court, which bond he thought proper to forfeit by the advice of friends, a number of whom raised the money in his behalf. He then fled to Holland; on the passage the vessel in the night struck on a shoal of sand. Mr. Hooker, with remarkable confidence, assured them that they should all be preserved, and they were soon remarkably delivered. In Holland he preached two years

at Delft. He was then called to Rotterdam, where he was employed with the celebrated Dr. Ames, between whom there was a mutual esteem and affection. Dr. Ames declared, that though he had been acquainted with many scholars of different nations, yet he had never met with Mr. Hooker's equal, either for preaching or disputation. But not finding the satisfaction which he wished among the Dutch, and a number of his friends in England, at this, time, inviting him to accompany them to the wilderness of America, he returned to his native country to prepare for his voyage across the Atlantic. Soon was the news of his arrival spread, and the officers of the bishop were in pursuit of him. At one time they knocked at the door of the chamber where he and Mr. Stone were in conversation. Mr. Stone went to the door. The officer demanded whether Mr. Hooker was not there. "What Hooker?" replied Stone. "Do you mean Hooker who once lived at Chelmsford?" The officer answered, "Yes, he." "If it be he you look for," said Stone, "I saw him about an hour ago at such an house in the town; you had best hasten there after him." The officer, taking this evasion for a sufficient account, went his way, while Mr. Hooker concealed himself more securely till he went on board at the Downs; this was in 1633. Mr. Stone and Mr. Cotton were on board the same ship. None but Mr. Stone were known to be preachers till they had "got far into the main ocean." Mr. Hooker arriving at Cambridge, was received with open arms by those of his friends who had come over the year before, when he uttered these words, "Now I live, if ye stand fast in the Lord." But multitudes following them, Newtown became too narrow for them; accordingly, in 1636, they removed to the fertile spot on the delightful banks of Connecticut river, which they called Hartford. There he was deservedly considered as the father and oracle of the colony. As a preacher he was remarkably animated and impressive; not only his voice, but his eyes, his hands, his every feature spoke the holy ardour of his soul. All was life and reality in his descriptions. It was not that theatric flourish, which is exhibited by men panting for admiration, but that zeal, which is kindled by a coal from God's altar. His moving addresses flowed from his own exquisite relish of divine things and an impassioned desire of promoting them in the hearts of others. His success, like his services, was eminent. A single instance or two may be mentioned. A profane man once, for his diversion, said to his companions, "Come, let us go and hear what bawling Hooker will say to us." For their sport they all went

to Chelmsford lecture. Soon conviction seized the mind of the man. The word of God was "quick and powerful," and he retired with an awakened and distressed conscience, and by the subsequent instructions of Mr. Hooker, he became a hopeful disciple of Jesus Christ; and afterward followed him a thousand leagues, that he might enjoy his preaching as long as he lived. At another time one of his opposers hired a person to play on a fiddle in the porch or church-yard; but Mr. Hooker's vivacity and zeal were not in the least abated; when the man went up to the door to hear what he said, his attention was caught; conviction followed: he directly made his confession to Mr. Hooker, and ever after lived a devout life. He had a surprising talent of reaching the consciences of his hearers in the application of his discourses. When at the land's end, he took his last view of England, saying "Farewell, England; I expect now no more to see that religious zeal, and power of godliness, which I have seen among professors in that land." He said, that adversity had slain its thousands, but prosperity its ten thousands. He feared that those who had been zealous christians in the fire of persecution, would be cold in the lap of peace. So exact were his observations of Providence, so attentive was he to the signs of the times, so confident of the answer of prayer, that "the secret of the Lord was with him;" and the people in some instances viewed him as a prophet. As a man of prayer, he was distinguished. He would say, that "prayer was the principal part of a minister's work; by this he was to carry on the rest." Accordingly, he devoted one day in every month to private prayer and fasting, besides many such days, which he kept publicly with his people. It was his opinion, that if professors neglect these duties, iniquities will abound, and the love of many wax cold. His prayers in public were more fervent than long and were adapted to the occasion; as he proceeded his ardour increased; and, as the last step of Jacob's ladder was nearest heaven, the close of his prayer was often a rapture of devotion. His people were often surprised with the remarkable answers to his prayers. Though irascible in his natural disposition, he acquired a remarkable command of his temper. He was ready at all times to sacrifice his own apprehensions to the better reasons of others. The meanest of his brethren and children were treated by him with endearing condescension. An example occurs. Mr. Hooker, immediately after a neighbour of his had sustained some damage, met a boy notorious for such mischief, and be-

gan to accuse and chide him. The boy denied the charge; Mr. Hooker continued his angry lecture. "Sir," said the boy, "I see you are in a passion; I'll say no more to you," and ran off. Upon inquiry, Mr. Hooker found the boy could not be proved guilty; he, therefore, sent for the boy, and humbly made his confession, which, with the good counsel he gave him, made a lasting impression on the mind of the lad. Yet, when he was in the pulpit, he appeared with such astonishing majesty and independence, it was pleasantly said of him, *He would put a king in his pocket*. Judges, and princes, and peasants equally shared in his solemn reproofs. He had a remarkable talent of solving cases of conscience, and for this purpose he set apart one day in a week for any of his people to come, and propose their scruples and difficulties. Though his own preaching was generally very practical and experimental, he wisely advised young ministers, when first settled, to preach the whole system of divinity for their own benefit, as well as that of their people. He had a most happy method of governing his church. He would propound nothing to them till it had been previously considered by some of the principal brethren; if at any time he saw an altercation beginning in the church, he would delay the vote till another opportunity, before which he would visit, and generally gain over those who had objected to the measure. He would say, "the elders must have a church in a church, if they would preserve the peace of the church." It was his desire to live no longer than he could perform the work of his place. His last sickness was short, during which he said little. Being asked his opinion on some important things, he replied, "I have not that work now to perform; I *have* declared the counsel of the Lord." One of his friends observed to him, that he was going to receive his *reward*. "Brother," said he, "I am going to receive *mercy*." When the awful moment arrived, he closed his own eyes, and gently stroking his forehead, with a smile in his countenance, he gave a little groan and expired July 7, 1647.

CHAP. XII.

History of Connecticut continued—Quakers.

THE colony of Connecticut expressed their disapprobation of the use of tobacco in an act of their general assembly at Hartford, in 1647, wherein it was ordered, " That no person under the age of twenty years, nor any other that hath already accustomed himself to the use thereof, shall take any tobacco, until he shall have brought a certificate from under the hand of some who are approved for knowledge and skill in physic, that it is useful for him; and also that he hath received a licence from the court for the same. All others who had addicted themselves to the use of tobacco, were, by the same court, prohibited taking it in any company, or at their labours, or on their travels, unless they were ten miles at least from any house, or more than once a day, though not in company, on pain of a fine of *six-pence* for each time; to be proved by one substantial evidence. The constable in each town to make presentment of such transgressions to the particular court, and upon conviction, the fine to be paid without gainsaying."

Massachusetts and New Haven colonies were more severe with the Quakers than Connecticut or Plymouth. Of the four, Connecticut was the most moderate. The general court of New Haven, 1658, passed a severe law against the Quakers. They introduced their law, which was copied from the act of the commissioners of the colonies, with this preamble:

" Whereas there is a cursed sect of heretics lately sprung up in the world, commonly called Quakers, who take upon them that they are immediately sent from God, and infallibly assisted by the Spirit, who yet speak and write blasphemous opinions, despise government, and the order of God in church and commonwealth, speaking evil of dignities, &c. Ordered, that whosoever shall bring, or cause to be brought, any known Quaker or Quakers, or other blasphemous heretics, shall forfeit the sum of fifty pounds. Also, if a Quaker come into this jurisdiction on civil business, the time of his stay shall be limited by the civil authority, and he shall not use any means to corrupt or seduce others. On his first arrival, he shall appear before a magistrate, and from him receive licence to pass on his business: and (for the better prevention of hurt to the people) have one or more to attend upon them at their charge, &c. The penalties in case of disobedience, were whipping, imprisonment, labour, and a deprivation of all converse with

any person." For the second offence, the person was to be branded in the hand with the letter H, to suffer imprisonment, and be put to labour. For the third, to be branded in the other hand, imprisoned, &c. as before. For the fourth, the offender was to have his tongue bored through with a red hot iron, imprisoned, and kept to labour, until sent away at their own charge. Any person who shall attempt to defend the sentiments of the Quakers, was, for the third offence, to be sentenced to banishment. "This law continued but two years, and was annulled at the restoration, in 1660. Virginia had this law, and that also against witchcraft. In New Haven I find a trial or two, and no more, on witches, but never a condemnation to any kind of punishment. There never was a single judgment or execution of the law upon a Quaker. Neither witches nor Quakers were ever condemned, or in the least punished in the colony of New Haven."

Had the pious framers of these laws paid a due attention to the excellent advice of that sagacious doctor of the law, Gamaliel, they would, perhaps, have been prevented from the adoption of such severe and unjustifiable measures. This wise man, when his countrymen were about to be outrageous in persecuting the apostles, addressed them in the following words, which merit to be engraved in letters of gold: *Refrain from these men, and let them alone; for if this counsel or this work be of men, it will come to nought: but if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it; lest haply ye be found even to fight against God.*" This divine maxim was but little attended to in times of persecution. Our ancestors seem to have left it to posterity to make the important discovery, that persecution is the direct method to multiply its objects. But these people, who have been so much censured and ridiculed, had, perhaps, as many virtues as their posterity. And it would be wise in the moderns, who stand elevated upon the shoulders of their ancestors, with the book of their experience spread before them, to imitate their virtues and to veil their faults.

The colonies of Connecticut and New Haven, from their first settlement, increased rapidly; tracts of land were purchased of the Indians, and new towns settled from Stamford to Stonington, and far back into the country, when, in 1661, Major John Mason, as agent for the colony, bought of the natives all lands, which had not before been purchased by particular towns, and made a public surrendry of them to the colony in the presence of the general assembly. Having done

these things, the colonists petitioned King Charles II. for a charter, and their petition was granted. His Majesty, on the 23d of April, 1662, issued his letters patent under the great seal, ordaining that the colony of Connecticut should, for ever hereafter, be one body corporate and politic, in fact and in name, confirming to them their ancient grant and purchase, and fixing their boundaries as follows, viz. "All that part of His Majesty's dominions in New England, in America, bounded east by Narraganset river, commonly called Narraganset Bay, where the river fall-eth into the sea; and on the north by the line of Massachusetts plantation; and on the south by the sea, and in longitude as the line of the Massachusetts colony running from east to west, that is to say, from the said Narraganset Bay on the east, to the South Sea on the west part, with the islands thereunto belonging." This charter has ever since remained the basis of the government of Connecticut, which was originally the Earl of Warwick's patent, one hundred and twenty miles of two degrees in breadth, and extending from Narraganset Bay across the continent. Connecticut charter comprehended the same. But court construction in 1664, limited the one hundred and twenty miles to the sea coast, instead of the two meridional degrees. New Haven people had actually made an emigration and settlement under Lord Say and Seal, at Delaware, near Philadelphia, in 1655, evidently shewing that it was the original understanding that the Earl of Warwick's patent extended two degrees in breadth below Massachusetts. But for the gratification of the Duke of York, this was arbitrarily taken from the purchasers of Lord Say and Seal's title, and erected into the colonies of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, by the Duke.

Such was the ignorance of the Europeans, respecting the geography of America, that their patents extended they knew not where. Many of them were of doubtful construction, and very often covered each other in part, and have produced innumerable disputes and mischiefs in the colonies, some of which are not settled to this day. It is not my business to touch upon these disputes. I have only to observe, that Connecticut constructed her charter as authorising them to pass over New York, which was then in possession of the subjects of a Christian prince, and claimed, in latitude and breadth, mentioned therein, to the South Sea. Accordingly, in 1754, purchases were made of the Indians of the Six Nations, by a number of

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the inhabitants of Connecticut, called the *Susquehannah* and *Delaware* companies, of a large tract of land lying west of Delaware river, and thence spreading over the east and west branches of Susquehannah river, on which considerable settlements were shortly after made. These settlers were incorporated afterwards by the general assembly of Connecticut, and made a distinct town, by the name of *Westmoreland*, and annexed to the county of Litchfield.

The charter of Pennsylvania, granted to William Penn, in 1681, covered these settlements. This laid the foundation for a dispute, which for a long time was maintained with warmth on both sides. The matter was at last submitted to gentlemen chosen for the purpose, who decided the dispute in favour of Pennsylvania. Many, however, still assert the justice of the Connecticut claim, in whose favour there was once a decision of the court. It will not be considered as out of place here to observe, that although Connecticut was forced to yield her claim to the lands within the limits of her charter, which were comprised within that of Pennsylvania, she did not relinquish the right her charter gave her to the lands lying west of Pennsylvania, and between that state and the Mississippi. At the close of the revolution, she ceded all her charter claims west of Pennsylvania, to Congress, reserving only a tract the width of the State of Connecticut, and one hundred and twenty miles in length; bounded east, on the western line of Pennsylvania, and north by Lake Erie, containing nearly *four millions* of acres. This cession was accepted by Congress, which established to Connecticut her title to these lands. The legislature of Connecticut, in 1793, granted to the sufferers in the several towns that were burnt during the war, a tract of half a million of acres, on the west end of this reservation; and in the summer of 1795, sold the remainder, consisting of about 3,300,000 acres, to Oliver Phelps, William Hart and associates, for 1,200,000 *dollars*. This sum, by an act of the legislature of Connecticut, passed in June, 1795, is appropriated to the *support of schools* in the several societies constituted by law, within the state; and also, in such societies as may request it, and by leave of the general assembly, for the *support of the Christian ministry and the public worship of God*.

Two persons have been employed to explore the tract of land of which we have been speaking. They represent "that the shore of the lake (Erie) is bold, and has several good harbours; that the land in general is level, descending a little

to the north west; that it is watered by two large, and a number of small rivers; that it rises into waving hills, but that there is not a mountain of any size on the whole tract; that the soil, generally speaking, is of the first quality; and that there are several salt springs, whose waters, it is asserted, yield as much salt in proportion as sea water." The native right to half this territory was extinguished by a treaty held several years ago, by General Parsons. A great part of this tract falls east and south of the boundary line between the United States and the Indians, as settled by the late treaty, by General Wayne. The colony of New Haven, though unconnected with the colony of Connecticut, was comprehended within the limits of their charter, and, as they concluded, within their jurisdiction. But New Haven remonstrated against their claim, and refused to unite with them, until they should hear from England. It was not until the year 1665, when it was believed that the king's commissioners had a design upon the New England charters, that these two colonies formed an union, which has ever since amicably subsisted between them.

In 1672, the laws of the colony were revised, and the general court ordered them to be printed; and also, "that every family should buy one of the law books; such as pay in silver to have a book for twelve pence, such as pay in wheat, to pay a peck and a half a book; and such as pay in peas, two shillings a book, the peas at three shillings the bushel." Perhaps it is owing to this early and universal spread of law books, that the people of Connecticut are to this day so fond of the law. In 1750, the laws of Connecticut were again revised, and published in a small folio volume of two hundred and fifty-eight pages. Dr. Douglass observes, "that they were the most natural, equitable, plain, and concise *code* of laws for plantations, hitherto extant." There has been a revision of them since the peace of 1783, in which they were greatly and very judiciously simplified. The years 1675 and 1676, were distinguished by the wars with Phillip and his Indians, and with the Narragansets, by which the colony was thrown into great distress and confusion. The inroads of the enraged savages were marked with cruel murders, and with fire and devastation.

Connecticut has ever made rapid advances in population. There have been more emigrations from this, than from any of the other states, and yet it is at present full of inhabitants. This increase may be ascribed to several causes. The bulk of the

inhabitants are industrious, sagacious husbandmen. Their farms furnish them with all the necessities, most of the conveniences, and but few of the luxuries of life. They of course must be generally temperate, and if they chose, can subsist with as much independance as is consistent with happiness. The subsistence of the farmer is substantial, and does not depend on incidental circumstances, like that of most other professions. There is no necessity of serving an apprenticeship to the business, nor of a large stock of money to commence it to advantage. Farmers who deal much in barter, have less need of money than any other class of people. The ease with which a comfortable subsistence is obtained, induces the husbandman to marry young. The cultivation of his farm makes him strong and healthful. He toils cheerfully through the day, eats the fruit of his own labour with a gladsome heart, at night devoutly thanks his bounteous God for his daily blessing, retires to rest, and his sleep is sweet. Such circumstances as these have greatly contributed to the amazing increase of the inhabitants in this state. Beside, the people live under a free government, and have no fear of a tyrant. There are no overgrown estates, with rich and ambitious landlords, to have an undue and pernicious influence in the election of civil officers. Property is equally enough divided, and must continue to be so as long as estates descend as they now do. No person qualified by law is prohibited from voting. He who has the most merit, not he who has the most money, is generally chosen into public office. As instances of this, it is to be observed, that many of the citizens of Connecticut, from the humble walks of life, have arisen to the first offices in the state, and filled them with dignity and reputation. That base business of electioneering, which is so directly calculated to introduce wicked and designing men into office, is yet but little known in Connecticut. A man who wishes to be chosen into office, acts wisely, for that end, when he keeps his desires to himself.

Connecticut had but a small proportion of citizens who did not join in opposing the oppressive measures of Great Britain, and was active and influential, both in the field and in the cabinet, in bringing about the revolution. Her soldiers were applauded by the commander in chief, for their bravery and fidelity. The revolution, which so essentially affected the government of most of the colonies, produced no very perceptible alteration in the government of Connecticut. While under the jurisdiction of Great Britain, they elected their own

governors, and all subordinate civil officers, and made their own laws, in the same manner, and with as little control as they now do. Connecticut has ever been a republic, and perhaps as perfect and as happy a republic as ever existed. She has uninterruptedly proceeded in her old track, both as to government and manners; and, by these means, has avoided those convulsions which have rent other states into violent parties.

At the anniversary election of governor and other public officers, which is held yearly at Hartford on the second Thursday in May, a sermon is preached, which is published at the expence of the state. On these occasions a vast concourse of respectable citizens, particularly of the clergy, are collected, from every part of the state; and while they add dignity and solemnity to the important and joyful transactions of the day, serve to exterminate party spirit, and to harmonize the civil and religious interests of the state. Connecticut, as well as Massachusetts, has been highly distinguished in having a succession of governors, eminent both for their religious and political accomplishments,

CHAP XIII,

Settlement of Rhode Island--This Colony refused Admittance into the Confederation--Narraganset Indians surrender their Country to the King of England--Roman Catholics--Charter surrendered.

Motives of the same kind with those which are well known to have occasioned the settlement of most of the other United States, gave birth to the settlement of Rhode Island. The emigrants from England, who came to Massachusetts, although they did not perfectly agree in religious sentiments, had been tolerably united by their common zeal against the ceremonies of the church of England. But when they were removed from ecclesiastical courts, and possessed a charter allowing liberty of conscience, they fell into disputes and contentions among themselves. Of the principle of uniformity, the majority here were as fond as those from whose persecution they had fled. The true grounds of religious liberty were not embraced at this time, nor understood by any sect. While all disclaimed persecution for the sake of conscience, a regard for the public peace, and the preservation of the church of Christ from infec-

tion, together with the obstinacy of the heretics, was urged in justification of that, which, stripped of all its disguises, the light of nature, and the laws of Christ, in the most solemn manner condemn.

Mr. Roger Williams, a Puritan minister, came over to New England in 1631, and settled at Salem, assistant to the Rev. Mr. Skelton. His settlement was opposed by the magistrates because he refused to join with the church at Boston, unless they would make a declaration of their repentance for maintaining communion with the church of England, while in their native country. In consequence Mr. Williams removed to Plymouth, where he remained assistant to Mr. Smith three years, or, as others say, two, and others, not one; when he disagreed with some influential characters in that town, and by invitation returned to Salem and succeeded Mr. Skelton, who had lately deceased. His settlement was still opposed by the magistrates, who charged him with maintaining, "That it is not lawful for a godly man to have communion in family prayer or in an oath, with such as they judge unregenerate;" therefore he refused the path of fidelity, and taught others to follow his example; "that it is not lawful for an unregenerate man to pray; that the magistrate has nothing to do in matters of the first table; that there should be a general and unlimited toleration of all religions; that to punish a man for following the dictates of his conscience was persecution; that the patent which was granted by King Charles was invalid, and an instrument of injustice which they ought to renounce, being injurious to the natives, the King of England having no power to dispose of their lands to his own subjects." On account of these sentiments, and for refusing to join with the Massachusetts churches, he was at length banished the colony, as a disturber of the peace of the church and commonwealth. He left his house, wife, and children, at Salem, in the dead of winter, and sought a residence within the limits of Massachusetts. Fortunately for Mr. Williams, he had cultivated an acquaintance with the Indians, and learned their language, and before he left the colony, he had privately treated with Canonibus and Osamaquin, two Narraganset sachems, for a tract of land within their territories, provided he should be under the necessity of settling among them. These circumstances, together with the advice of Governor Winthrop, induced him, with four of his friends, after his banishment, to direct his course toward Narraganset bay. He with his companions established them-

selves first at Secunk or Seekhonck, now Rehoboth. But that place being within the bounds of Plymouth colony, Governor Winslow, in a friendly manner, advised them to remove to the other side of the river, where the lands were not covered by any patent. Accordingly, in 1636, they crossed Seekhonck river, and landed among the Indians, by whom they were hospitably received, and thus laid the foundation of a town, which, "from a sense of God's merciful providence to him in his distress," Mr. Williams called PROVIDENCE. Here the little colony were soon after joined by a number of others; and though they were secured against the Indians by the terror of the English, yet, for a considerable time, they suffered much from fatigue and want; but they enjoyed liberty of conscience, and the consolation of having "provided a refuge for persons persecuted for conscience sake."

Unhappy religious dissensions still prevailed in Massachusetts; and, from a zeal for the purity of the faith, Governor Winthrop strove to exterminate the opinions which he disapproved. For this purpose, on the 30th of August, 1637, a synod was convened at Newtown (now Cambridge) to whom eighty erroneous opinions were presented; these were debated and unanimously condemned. At a court holden at the same place, the following October, Wheelright, Mrs. Hutchinson, and Underhill, the leading characters who had embraced these errors, were banished, and several others were censured for seditious conduct. A number who had signed a seditious petition to the general court, in which they charge them with having condemned the truth of Christ, those who refused to retract were disarmed. Of these, fifty eight belonged to Boston, six to Salem, three to Newbury, five to Roxbury, two to Ipswich, and two to Charlestown.

The subsequent election of civil officers was carried by a party spirit excited by religious controversy, but the orthodox party maintained the ascendancy, and Mr. Winthrop was re-elected governor. Those who were banished by the court, joined by a number of their friends, left the colony, and went in quest of a new place for settlement. They first proceeded to Providence, where they were kindly received by Mr. Williams, and with whom they remained for some time.

In March, 1638, two sachems, by virtue of their authority, and in consideration of fifty fathoms of white beads, sold to Mr. Coddington (one of the most respectable of these exiles) and his associates, the great island of Aquidnect, and the other isles

in Narraganset bay, except two which had been previously sold. The natives soon after agreed, upon receiving ten coats and twenty hoes, to remove before the next winter. The largest island was soon after called Rhode Island. Having thus acquired a title and possession, on considerations which gave satisfaction to the original owners, they here established themselves; and, copying the conduct of their neighbours, they formed a similar association for the purposes of civil government. Though the numbers associated were few, yet the soil being fruitful, and the climate agreeable, many persons soon resorted where they found protection, and the island, in a few years, became so populous as to send out colonists to the adjacent shores. The little colony elected Mr. Coddington their judge and chief magistrate. This gentleman came to America in 1630, and settled at Boston as a merchant. After his removal to Rhode Island, he embraced the sentiments of the Friends, and became the father of that denomination of Christians in that colony. Their yearly meeting was held in his house till his death, in 1688. Mr. John Clarke was another principal character among the exiles; for the sake of enjoying liberty of conscience, he voluntarily abandoned the colony of Massachusetts and settled in Rhode Island, where, in 1644, he founded a Baptist church. The first settlement on Rhode Island was made at the north end, and called Portsmouth. In 1639, another settlement was begun at the south west part of the island on a fine harbour, which they called Newport. From the convenience of this harbour, the fertility and pleasantness of the island, and the wealth of the first settlers, this place had a rapid growth, and in a few years became the capital of the colony. The government which they established was of the democratic kind. The chief magistrate and four assistants were invested with part of the executive powers; the remainder, with the legislative authority, was exercised by the body of the people in town meetings. The colonies at Providence and Rhode Island, at different periods, received large accessions from the denominations of Baptists and Friends, who were persecuted in other colonies. What distinguishes these colonies from all others is, that they were settled on a "plan of an entire religious liberty; men of every denomination being equally protected and countenanced, and enjoying the honours and offices of government."

The inefficacy of a voluntary government, and the want of a patent to legalize their proceedings, was soon experienced by

the colonists at Providence and Rhode Island. Accordingly, in the year 1643, they sent Mr. Roger Williams to England, as their agent, to procure for them a charter from the crown. On his arrival at London, he found that King Charles I. had been driven from his capital; he of course applied to those who had assumed the power. Sir Henry Vane, his former associate and friend in America, received him kindly, and aided his views. In March, 1644, through the Earl of Warwick, then governor and admiral of all the plantations, he obtained from Parliament, "a free and absolute charter of civil incorporation of Providence plantations in Narraganset bay," investing the inhabitants with the requisite authority to govern themselves, but according to the laws of England. Mr. Williams was well received by some of the leading members of Parliament, and when he was about to embark for America they gave him a letter of recommendation to the governor and assistants of Massachusetts, in which they represented the merits of Mr. Williams, and advised to the performance of all friendly offices toward him. This letter had the effect to ameliorate the differences which had subsisted between Mr. Williams and the Massachusetts colony; and there was afterwards a profession of Christian love and mutual correspondence between them. Yet while Mr. Williams retained what were deemed dangerous principles, the governor and assistants of Massachusetts thought it inexpedient to grant him liberty of ingress and egress, lest the people should be drawn away with his erroneous opinions.

When, in 1643, the dangers and necessities of the New England colonies induced them to think of forming a confederacy for their mutual support and defence, Providence and Rhode Island plantations were desirous of uniting in the plan, but Massachusetts, disliking their religious sentiments, opposed their motion, and refused them a seat in the convention for forming the confederacy. Thus forsaken of their neighbours, they found it necessary to devise other means of safety. They accordingly cultivated the friendship of the neighbouring sachems with assiduity and success, and in a short time acquired such an influence with them as to procure from the Narraganset chiefs, in 1644, a formal surrender of their country to King Charles I. in right of his crown, in consideration of his protection of them against their enemies. This territory was afterwards called *the King's Province*. The people of these plantations, thus empowered to manage their own affairs, in the true spirit of democracy, convened an assembly in May, 1647, com-

posed of the body of freemen in the several plantations. Several salutary regulations were adopted. The executive power, by this assembly, was vested in a president. This form of government, so agreeable to their inclinations and views, they did not long enjoy in tranquillity. It was suspended in October, 1652, by an order of the council of state for the Commonwealth. The Parliament wished to acquire a participation, at least, in the administration of affairs, by establishing here those plans of reformation, which they attempted in Massachusetts, and which they actually effected in Virginia and Maryland. But Providence and Rhode Island, deriving the same advantages from the distractions which soon after ensued in England, that the colonies have always taken of the disorders of the sovereign state, resumed its form of government. And this it continued to enjoy without farther interruption till the Restoration.

That event gave great satisfaction to these plantations. They immediately proclaimed Charles II. and not long after sent Mr. Clark, as their agent, to the court of that monarch, to solicit for a patent, which was deemed in New England so essential to real jurisdiction; and September, 1662, he obtained the object of his wishes. Yet, owing to the opposition of Connecticut, the present charter was not finally passed till July, 1663. The emigrations, beforementioned, from Massachusetts, and the subsequent settlements at Providence and Rhode Island, were recapitulated; "which being convenient for commerce," says the patent, "may much advance the trade of this realm, and greatly enlarge the territories thereof;" and being willing to encourage the undertaking of his subjects, and to secure to them the free enjoyment of their civil and religious rights, which belonged to them as Englishmen, he conferred on them ample liberty in religion, and special privileges with regard to jurisdiction. The patentees, and such as should be admitted free of the society, were incorporated by the name of "The Governor and Company of the English Colony of Rhode Island and Providence." The supreme, or legislative power, was invested in an assembly; the constituent members were to consist of the governor, the assistants, and such of the freemen as should be chosen by the towns; but the governor or deputy governor, and six assistants were to be always present. Thus constituted, the assembly was empowered to make ordinances and forms of government and magistracy, for the rule of the lands and inhabitants; so that they should not be repugnant,

but agreeable to the laws of England, considering the nature of the place and people; to erect such courts of justice for determining all acts within the colony as they should think fit; to regulate the manner of elections to places of trust, and of freemen to the assembly; to impose lawful punishments, pecuniary and corporal, according to the course of other corporations within the realm; and to pardon such criminals as they should think fit. That the inhabitants might be religiously and civilly governed, a governor, deputy governor, and ten assistants were appointed for the management of their affairs; and they were authorised to execute the ordinances beforementioned, which every one was commanded to obey.

The governor and company were enabled to transport such merchandize and persons, as were not prohibited by any statute of the kingdom; and "paying such customs as are and ought to be paid for the same." They were empowered to exercise martial law, and upon just causes, to invade and destroy the native Indians and other enemies. There was granted to the governor and company, and their successors, "that part of the dominions of the crown, in New England, containing the islands in Narraganset bay, and the countries and parts adjacent. To be holden of the manor of East Greenwich, in common soccage." The inhabitants of those territories and their children, were declared fully intitled to the same immunities as if they had resided, or had been born within the realm; and to guard against the experienced oppressions of Massachusetts, they were enabled to pass and repass through any other English colonies, and to traffic with them. But with this proviso, that nothing should hinder any subjects whatsoever from fishing on the coasts of New England.

Such was the substance of the charter of Rhode Island, and such were the privileges conferred by it. The government of this Province was administered to the satisfaction of Charles II. during the remainder of his reign. By the charter of this province, "None were at any time thereafter to be molested for any difference in matters of religion;" yet the first assembly that convened under this charter, in March, 1663, among a variety of other ordinances and laws, enacted one declarative of the privileges of his Majesty's subjects; in which they say, "that all men of competent estates, and of civil conversation, *Roman Catholics only excepted*, shall be admitted freemen, or may choose, or be chosen, colonial officers." By this act, persecution of the Roman Catholics immediately commenced, by

depriving them of the rights of citizens, in violation of their charter privileges. This is a remarkable fact in the history of a people, who have been singular for their attachment to, and zealous in defending, the doctrine of universal freedom of opinion in matters of religion.

Upon the accession of James II. to the throne, the colonists of Rhode Island and Providence immediately transmitted to him an address in which they acknowledged their subjection to him, pledged themselves to obey his authority, and asked in return, for the protection of their chartered privileges. This address, did not, however, avail to protect them against the effects of the plans of reform in New England, resolved on by the British court. Articles of "high misdemeanour were exhibited to the Lords of the Committee of Foreign Plantations, against the governor and company of the colony of Rhode Island and Providence," in which, among other things, they are charged with neglecting to keep an authentic record of their laws; with refusing to permit the inhabitants to have copies of them; with rasing or cancelling their laws as they please, without consent of the assembly, and with administering the government, and justice, without taking the legal oaths. These charges were referred to the attorney general, July 1685, with orders immediately to issue a writ of *quo warranto* against their patent. The governor and company were served with a regular notice of the process, which had been issued against them, and they were put upon their defence; they declined standing a suit with their king. In full assembly, they passed an act formally surrendering to his majesty their charter, with all the powers it contained. This act, it is said, "was afterwards made way with, agreeably to a common practice."

The governor and company afterwards assembled, and, on serious consideration of the the suit instituted against them, agreed upon an address to his majesty, in which they pray, that their charter privileges civil, and religious, might be continued; that, "all things wherein they had been weak and short, through ignorance, may be remitted and pardoned." They conclude, by "prostrating their *all* at his majesty's feet, with entire resolution to serve him with faithful hearts. Such servile language was improper for freemen to use, or for the ruler of a free people to receive. It failed of its intended effect. No sooner was the address received, than the committee of the colonies, with the approbation of the king, ordered, that Sir Edmund Andros, the governor of Massachusetts,

should demand the surrender of their charter, and govern them in the manner the other colonies of New England were governed. At the same time they were assured of his majesty's protection, and of his determination to exercise no other authority over them, than what was common to the other plantations. Accordingly, in December, 1686, Andros formally dissolved the government of Rhode Island, broke their seal, assumed the reins of government, and selected five of the citizens, and formed them into a legislative council. This state of things continued scarcely two years, when the revolution of 1688, put an end to the tyrannic authority of Andros, in this and the other colonies. Their charter was resumed, and has ever since continued to be the basis of the civil administration of their government.

CHAP. XIV.

War with the Pequot Indians.

IN 1634, the Indians murdered Captain Stone and Captain Norton, with six others, in a bark sailing up Connecticut river. The next year they killed part of a crew, who had been shipwrecked on Long Island. In the year 1636, at Block Island, they killed Mr. Oldham. To obtain satisfaction for these injuries, the governor and council of Massachusetts sent ninety men, who sailed under the command of Captains Endicot, Underhill, and Turner. They had commission to put to death the men of Block Island, but to spare the women and children, to make them prisoners, and take possession of the island. Then they were to visit the Pequots, and demand the murderers of Captain Stone, and the other English; and a thousand fathom of wampum for damages, and some of their children for hostages. Force was to be employed if they refused. They arrived in September at Block Island; the wind being north-east, and a high surf, it was difficult landing. About forty Indians gave a shot from their bows, and fled. The island was covered with bushes, but had no good timber. They traversed it for two days, burned two villages of wigwams, and some corn, of which there was about two hundred acres, and then retired.

They first directed their course for Connecticut river; thence they took twenty men, and two shallops to assist them, and returned to Pequot river, (now the Thames) "landing in much

danger, the shore being high, ragged rocks." This is accurately descriptive of Groton. Three hundred natives were soon assembled, who, trifling with the demand of Endicot, encouraging him, yet delaying to observe his demand, he assured them he had come for the purpose of fighting. They immediately withdrew; when they had proceeded beyond musket shot, he pursued them; two of them were killed, and others wounded; the English burnt their wigwams and returned. The next day they went on shore the west side of the river, burned their wigwams, and spoiled their canoes, and returned to Narraganset, and thence to Boston. After the troops left Pequot river, the twenty men of Saybrook lay wind bound, when they undertook to fetch away the Indians' corn. Having carried one load, and supplied themselves a second time, the Indians assaulted them; they returned the fire, which was continued most of the afternoon. One of the English was wounded. Two days after, five men at Saybrook were attacked in the field, one was taken prisoner, the others fled, one having five arrows in him. A fortnight after, three men in the same neighbourhood were fowling, two of whom were taken prisoners; at the same time they killed a cow, burned a house, some out-houses, and stacks of hay.

October 21, Miantonomo, the sachem of Narraganset, came to Boston with two sons of Canonicus, another sachem, "and twenty sanops." Twenty musketeers met him at Roxbury. The sachems declared, that they had always loved the English, and desired firm peace with them, that they would continue the war with the Pequots and their confederates, till they were subdued, and desired that we would do so; that they would deliver our enemies to us, or kill them; and desiring that if any of theirs should kill our cattle, that we would not kill them, but cause them to make satisfaction. This was the substance of the treaty established. They were also to return fugitive servants, to furnish guides for our troops when they marched against the Pequots, and they were not to approach our plantations, during the war, without some Englishman or known Indian.

About this time, the Governor of Plymouth wrote to Massachusetts, that *they* had occasioned a war by *provoking* the Pequots, casting a reflection on the late expedition. It was replied, that they could not safely pursue them without a guide; that they went not to make war, but to obtain justice; that they had killed thirteen men, and burned sixty wigwams, which

was sufficient satisfaction for four or five, whom they had murdered. About the middle of October, a bark coming down Connecticut river, one Tilly, the master, went on shore to kill fowls, and was taken prisoner. They cut off his hands and feet, after which he lived three days. At the same time, they killed another man in a canoe.

The next spring, the colony of Connecticut declared their dislike of the Pequot expedition, expressing their hope, that Massachusetts would continue the war, and offered assistance. Capt. Underhill, with twenty men, was sent to Saybrook to defend it against the Dutch and Indians. In May, the Indians at Weathersfield killed six men, and three women, and took two maids prisoners, and killed twenty cows. The Indians becoming more daring, and the danger increasing, it was universally resolved to make a vigorous effort to repel the evil. Their success in flying from the English at Groton had greatly encouraged them. They boasted of this at Saybrook Fort, that they had deluded the English, that their god, "was all one fly," that "the Englishman was all one sqaw."

Massachusetts raised one hundred and sixty men, beside forty previously sent to Narraganset; Mr. Stoughton was the commander, and Mr. Wilson, of Boston, their chaplain, "to sound the silver trumpet of the gospel before them." These two were designated by lot, "with public invocation of God." Connecticut raised ninety men, under the command of Capt. Mason. Capt. Underhill joined the expedition with nineteen of the garrison. Uncas, the sachem of Mohegan, lent his assistance. Before they marched for the enemies' country, one of the ministers of Hartford made them an address to the following purpose.

"Fellow Soldiers, Countrymen, and Companions,

You are this day assembled by the inevitable providence of God. You are not collected by wild fancy, nor ferocious passions. It is not a tumultuous assembly whose actions are abortive, or, if successful, produce only theft, rapine, rape, and murder, crimes inconsistent with nature's light, inconsistent with a soldier's valour. You, my dear hearts, were selected from your neighbours, by the godly fathers of the land, for your known courage to execute such a work. Your cause is the cause of heaven; the enemy hath blasphemed your God, and slain his servants; you are only the ministers of his justice. I do not pretend that your enemies are careless or in-

different. No, their hatred is inflamed; their lips thirst for blood; they would devour you and all the people of God. But, my brave soldiers, their guilt has reached the clouds; they are ripe for destruction; their cruelties are notorious; and cruelty and cowardice are always united. There is, therefore, nothing to prevent your certain and complete victory, but their nimble feet, their impenetrable swamps and woods. From these your small numbers will *entice* them, or your courage *drive* them.

I now put the question, who would not fight in such a cause? fight with undaunted boldness? Do you wish for more encouragement? More I give you. Riches waken the soldier's sword; and though you will not obtain silver and gold on the field of victory, you will secure what is infinitely more precious. You will secure the liberties, the privileges, the lives of Christ's church in this new world. You will procure safety for your affectionate wives, safety for "your harmless, prattling, smiling babes." You will secure all the blessings of goodness and mercy, enjoyed by the people of God, in the ordinances of the gospel. Distinguished was the honour conferred on David in his destroying the enemies of the Lord; this honour, O ye courageous soldiers of God, is now prepared for you. You will now execute his vengeance on the heathen; you will bind their kings in chains and their nobles in fetters of iron.

But perhaps some one may fear that a fatal arrow will deprive him of this high honour. Let every faithful soldier of Jesus Christ be assured, that if any servant be taken away, it is merely because the honours of this world are too narrow for his reward; an everlasting crown is set upon his head, because the rewards of this life are insufficient. March then, with Christian courage, in the strength of the Lord; march with faith in his divine promises, and soon your swords shall find your enemies, soon they shall fall like leaves of the forest under your feet."

On their way to the Pequot country, from Saybrook, they sent out a party of Indians, who met seven Pequots, of whom they killed five, and took one; him they tortured, and set all their heads on the fort; so contagious are malignant passions. This was done, because they had tortured some of our men taken captive. The army sailed from Connecticut river, passed Pequot, or the Thames, and entered the Narraganset or Mistick. They were joined by five hundred Narraganset Indians; but, as the army marched to the intended scene of action, these daring sons of war fell in the rear of the army. So terri-

ble was the name of "Sassacus," who was in one of the forts where the Pequots had assembled, and which the English designed immediately to assault: "Sussacus," they said, "was all one a God, nobody could kill him." The army silently moved by the light of the moon toward the nearest fort. Wequash, their guide and spy, brought them word, that the Pequots in the fort were all asleep. Seeing the English vessels pass them in the course of the day, supposing they had returned home in terror, they had sung and danced with joy till midnight, and were now buried in deep sleep. Captain Mason approached the east side, and Underhill the west side of the fort; a dog barked; the centinel awoke; he cried, *Wannux, Wannux*, i. e. English, English; the troops soon entered the fort, which consisted of trees set in the ground, two winding passages being left open; a dreadful carnage followed. Instantly the guns of the English were directed to the floors of the wigwams, which were covered with their sleeping inhabitants. Terrible was the consternation, to be roused from their dreams by the blaze and thunder of the English musketry: if they came forth the English swords waited to pierce them; if they reached the pallisades, and attempted to climb over, the fatal balls brought them down; their combustible dwellings, crowded together, were soon in flames; many of them were roasted and burned to death, rather than venture out; others fled back to their burning houses, and were consumed, to escape the English swords. The English endeavoured to save the women and children alive, which the men observing, in anguish and dying terror, cried, *I squaw, I squaw*, in hopes of finding mercy; but their hour was come. Their dwellings being wrapt in fire, the army retired and surrounded the fort; to escape was impossible; like a herd of deer they fell before the deadly weapons of the English. The earth was soon drenched in their blood and covered with their bodies. In a few minutes five or six hundred of them lay gasping in their blood, or silent in death. The darkness of the forest, the blaze of the dwellings, the rivulets of blood, the ghastly looks of the dead, the groans of the dying, the shrieks of the women and children, the yells of the friendly savages, presented a scene of sublimity and horror indescribably dreadful.

The same morning, May 20, 1637, their pinnaces arrived with provisions in Pequot harbour, to relieve their necessities. They were in the country of their enemies; the mighty Sassacus and his garrison were near, ready to fall upon them; they were parched with thirst, and fainting with hunger. But

they directed their march for Pequot harbour, which they considered six miles distant. On the way they were assailed by three hundred savages, furious as bears bereaved of their whelps. Being repelled with courage, they retired; when they found their slaughtered friends at the fort, their grief and madness was indescribable; they stamped the ground; they tore their hair; they roared and howled like wolves of the forest.

The Massachusetts troops, under Capt. Stoughton, did not arrive till the latter part of June. By the assistance of the Narragansets, they surrounded a swamp and took eighty captives, thirty of them were men, all of whom, excepting two sachems, they killed. Those who had escaped from the Connecticut forces retired to the fort of Sassacus; they upbraided him with their misfortunes: they separated; they were scattered over the country. All the other tribes exulted in their fall, attacked and killed them wherever they found them, or sent them to the English as prisoners, or, having killed them, sent their heads and limbs.

Captain Stoughton and his company pursued a party beyond Connecticut river, but not finding them, he returned to Pequot river, where he heard of a hundred; he marched, found and killed twenty-two men, took two sachems and a number of women and children, thirty of whom were given to the Narragansets, forty-eight were sent to Boston, who were placed in different families. A few days after, Capt. Stoughton, being joined by Capt. Mason and the troops of Connecticut, sailed for New Haven with eighty men. They killed six Indians, and took two. At a head of land east of New Haven, now Guilford, they beheaded two sachems, and called the place *Sachem's Head*, which name it still retains. A Pequot prisoner had his life given him on condition of his finding Sassacus; he found him, and brought the intelligence to the English; but Sassacus, suspecting the mischief, with Mononotto, another famous chief, fled to the Mohawks. In a swamp, three miles west of Fairfield, eighty of their men and two hundred women and children had concealed themselves. Capt. Stoughton, by information from a Pequot spy, whom he had employed, discovered them; Lieutenant Davenport and two or three others, endeavouring to enter, were badly wounded. A fire was kept up for several hours, when the Indians desired a parley, and offered to yield. They came forth in small numbers, during the afternoon, in which time two hundred women

and children had resigned themselves, with the sachem of the place; but night coming on, the men would not come out, and declared they would fight; accordingly a constant firing was kept up all night. Towards morning, it being very dark, the Pequots crept silently out of the swamp and fled. So terminated the Pequot war, and Pequot nation. Sassacus, with twenty or thirty attendants, had fled to the Mohawks, who, treacherously violating all the laws of hospitality, slew them, being hired, as it was supposed, by the Narragansets. A part of the skin and hair of Sassacus they sent to Massachusetts. So vanish the tribes of men in sad succession. In the course of a few months one of the most formidable nations, then in New England, was swept away; eight or nine hundred of them had been killed; many were fugitives in the forests, and a remnant, to save themselves from cruel deaths by their own countrymen, submitted to the English. Captain Stoughton, on his way home, landed once more at Block Island, had an interview with the natives, who submitted themselves tributaries to the English. In August, the troops returned to Boston, having lost but two of their number, both of whom died with sickness. A thanksgiving was observed through the colonies on account of their complete victory over their enemies.

The day previous to the dreadful storming of the fort at Mistick, had been kept as a day of fasting and prayer. This, or some other circumstances attending that bloody scene, wonderfully impressed the mind of *Wequash*, the guide of the English, with the power of the Englishman's God. He went about the colony of Connecticut with bitter lamentations, that he did not know Jesus Christ, the Englishman's God. The good people faithfully instructed him concerning the religion of the gospel; after which he made a most serious profession; he forsook his savage vices; went up and down the country preaching Christ to his benighted countrymen; he bore a thousand abuses from them, and finally submitted to death for his religion.

CHAP. XV.

Earthquake—Uncas visits Governor Winthrop—Hampton settled—Harvard College founded—Indian Plot at Kennebec—Settlement of Rowley—Character of Rev. Ezekiel Rogers.

THE year 1638 was remarkable for a great earthquake throughout New England. This earthquake, as did that also of 1627, which was equally violent and extensive, constituted a remarkable era, that was long remembered and referred to by the pious inhabitants of these infant colonies.

This year, Uncas, from Mohegan, made a visit to Governor Winthrop at Boston; in his polite address, after delivering his present, laying his hand on his heart, he said, "This heart is not mine, but yours; I have no men, they are all yours; command me any difficult service, and I will perform it; I will not believe any Indian's words against the English; if any man kill an Englishman, I will put him to death, if he be ever so dear to me." The governor gave him "a fair red coat, provision for his journey, and a letter of protection, when he departed highly gratified."

In 1638, Hampton, in New Hampshire, was settled; its Indian name was Winnecumet; a church was gathered, and a minister chosen the same year. Mr. Batchelor was their first minister, but in three years he removed from them. In 1631, he had been settled at Lynn; he was dismissed thence, after he "was gray and aged," being discharged from his arrest by the magistrates on his promise to leave the town in three months. The following lines were addressed to him by a cotemporary.

"Through ocean large, Christ brought thee for to feed
 "His wandering flock, with's word thou hast often taught;
 "Then teach *thyself*, with others thou hast need,
 "Thy flowing fame unto low ebb is brought."

While the poet thus tenderly hints at his disgrace for his contentious and obstinate spirit, the impartial historian declares, that after his sedition at Lynn, he, in New Hampshire, assaulted the chastity of his neighbour's wife, when he was eighty years of age, and had a comely wife of his own, that he obstinately denied it to the church, as he had told the woman he would; that he proceeded to accuse the injured family to the magistrates as slanderers; but soon after, while administering the Lord's Supper, his horror of conscience extorted a

voluntary confession from him, upon which they proceeded to excommunicate him, his repentance appearing very wavering.

Continuing in the town, he put himself at the head of a faction, and quarrelled with the Rev. Mr. Dalton, the teacher of the church. Repeatedly ministers and magistrates met to quiet their minds, but all was vain. They then advised Mr. Batchelor to leave the place. A party at Exeter invited him to settle there, but the government of Massachusetts, to which they then belonged, sent word to prevent the measure, because Mr. Batchelor had been in three places before, where the churches fell into such divisions as could not be healed till he was dismissed.

The Rev. Mr. Dalton died in 1661, leaving a donation to the people for the support of public worship. During a part of his ministry he had the assistance of the Rev. John Wheelwright, a brother and disciple of the famous Mrs. Hutchinson. He was literally a wandering star. At Boston, at Quincy, at Exeter, at Salisbury, and at Wells, difficulties pursued him. From this last place he wrote to the government of Massachusetts, whence he had been banished for heresy, a very humble confession, which was accepted, and he had liberty to return. In his confession he says, "it is the grief of my soul, that I used such vehement and censorious speeches. I repent me that I did adhere to persons of corrupt judgments, to the countenancing and encouraging them in any of their errors or evil practices." His difficulties taught him wisdom. After his confession and restoration he lived nearly forty years "a valued servant of the church." The Rev. Seaborn Cotton succeeded Mr. Dalton. Ten years after his decease, his son, John Cotton, was ordained pastor of the church. His successor was the Rev. Daniel Gookin, who was ordained in 1710. Their next minister was the Rev. Ward Cotton. He was removed in 1765, and the Rev. Ebenezer Thayer succeeded him within a year, who died in September, 1792. His successor, their present pastor, is the Rev. Jesse Appleton.

The next year (1639) the college of Cambridge was founded. As soon as our pious and enlightened ancestors, the first settlers of New England, had erected for themselves comfortable dwellings, provided necessities for their support, reared convenient places for the worship of God, and settled the civil government, their next object was to establish an institution of science for the benefit of their "posterity, dreading an illiterate ministry," when the learned ministers they then

enjoyed should sleep in the dust. Two years before, in 1636, the general court had voted £400 for the establishment of a public school; but this year the Rev. John Harvard, a worthy minister of Charlestown, died, and bequeathed one half of his estate, amounting to above 1800 dollars, to this infant seminary. Thus endowed, the school was erected into a college, and assumed the name of its principal benefactor, Harvard: and Newtown, in compliment to the college, and in memory of the place where many of our fathers received their education, was called Cambridge. In 1640, the legislature granted the income of Charlestown ferry as a perpetual revenue to the college, and the same year the Rev. Henry Dunster was appointed the first president, a preceptor or professor having previously had the instruction of the youth.

The first commencement was attended two years after, when nine students took the degree of bachelor of arts. Most of the legislature were present, dined in the college with the scholars, for their encouragement, which gave content to all. The next year, the general court, which had previously committed the government of the college to all the magistrates, and the ministers of the three nearest churches, with the president, passed an act by which all the magistrates and the teaching elders of the six nearest towns, with the president, were appointed forever the governors of that seminary. They met, for the first time, in December, and chose a treasurer.

In 1650, the college received its first charter from the general court, appointing a corporation consisting of seven persons, a president, five fellows, and a treasurer, to have a perpetual succession by election to their offices. Their stile is, *The President and Fellows of Harvard College*. To this body was committed all the estate of the college; they have the care of all donations; the board of overseers continue a distinct branch; united they form the legislature of the college. In 1665, when the hearts of good men were roused to seek the spiritual welfare of their pagan neighbours, a brick edifice, thirty feet long, and twenty wide, was erected at Cambridge for an Indian college. Numbers began to prepare for college in the school, several entered, but death and other events interposed, so that only one ever attained academical honours. The design was prudent and noble, but Providence frowned on the execution. The executive government consists of the president, three professors, four tutors, a librarian, and regent. The divinity professorship was founded in 1722, and the mathematical profes-

sorship four years after, both by the noble generosity of Mr. Thomas Hollis, of London, merchant. The professorship of Hebrew, and other oriental languages, was founded in 1765, by the Honourable Thomas Hancock, Esq. These professors deliver public lectures to all the students assembled, beside giving more private instructions to each class separately. Happy would it be for all the colleges had they such professorships. Foundations are laid in part for three other professorships in this university, not yet in operation, one of rhetoric and oratory, by the late Nicholas Boylston, Esq. of Boston; one of natural religion, moral philosophy, and civil polity, from the estate of the late Hon. John Alford, Esq. of Charlestown; and one of natural history, by subscription of public spirited individuals, not yet completed. The late Governor Bowdoin gave £400 to the university, the interest of which is to be applied in premiums, for the advancement of useful and polite literature among the residents and graduates of the college.

In the year 1782, three medical professorships were established, viz. a professorship of anatomy and surgery; a professorship of the theory and practice of physic; a professorship of chemistry and *materia medica*. The funds of the two first were left by the late Dr. Ezekiel Hersey, of Hingham, his brother, the late Dr. Abner Hersey, of Barnstable, and the late Mrs. Sarah Derby, widow of Dr. Hersey, of Hingham, afterward the wife and widow of the late Richard Derby, Esq. of Salem. The late Dr. John Cumings, of Concord, added to the fund for the professor of the theory and practice of physic. The fund for the professor of chemistry and *materia medica* was left by the late William Erving, Esq. All these professorships take the names of their founders.

For a number of years before the revolution, there were, generally, in the university from one hundred and eighty to one hundred and ninety undergraduates in the college. During the war, the numbers were much less, since the war, they have been gradually increasing, and in 1804, there were two hundred and twenty undergraduates. Indigent students are much assisted in their education.

In 1639, a printing office was set up at Cambridge by Mr. Daye, at the charge of Mr. Glover, who died on his passage to America. The first thing here printed was the freeman's oath; the next an almanack made for New England by Mr. Peirce, mariner; the next the Psalms, newly turned into metre, now obsolete, though once used in all the churches, and called, the

New England Psalms. At Kennebec, this year, the Indians, being in want of food, determined to kill the English at the Plymouth trading house there, and seize the provisions. A number of them, to execute the business, entered the house in their usual manner, Mr. Willet, the master, being engaged in reading the Bible, his countenance more solemn than at other times, and not looking at them, nor noticing them, as they expected, they instantly retired and told their companions, their plot was discovered; who inquiring how that was possible, they replied, that it was certain, from Willet's countenance, and they supposed he had discovered it by the book he was reading; so the Plymouth people escaped without harm. In the spring of this year also, Rowley was settled. This was in consequence of the arrival of Mr. Ezekiel Rogers, with about twenty families, godly people, and most of them possessing good estates. Mr. Rogers was a man of great note in England for his zeal, piety, and abilities; Mr. Eaton and Mr. Davenport exerted themselves, therefore, to persuade him and his company to proceed to New Haven and settle with them. In consequence of these importunities, he made a partial engagement to comply; and sent on several persons to examine the place, who, not finding every thing to their satisfaction, and he, feeling his responsibility to many persons of "quality in England, who depended on him to choose a fit place for them," consulted with the ministers of Massachusetts. By their advice, he and his "holy humble people" took a place between Ipswich and Newbury, and these towns having granted some farms on this tract, Mr. Rogers's company purchased them at the price of £800. They then sent a pinnace to New Haven for their people, who had gone there, but Mr. Davenport, and Mr. Eaton, and their people were so zealous to obtain Mr. Rogers and his flock, that they detained the pinnace, and sent on a messenger with letters to obtain them, if possible, even pleading his engagement. Mr. Rogers again desired the ministers to assemble; he laid before them his letters from New Haven; they determined that he was free from all engagements: according to this, he sent them his final answer, and proceeded with his plantation at Rowley, so called from Rowley, in England, where he had lived. This religious people then considered it a great privilege to settle so near Ipswich, four miles distant, on account of being able to attend the lectures of both towns. They were very industrious, being about sixty families, who soon erected as many houses. They were the first in North America who

made cloth, and here was the first fulling mill in New England. It stood just above the head of the tide on Mill River, where now are mills. A cedar tenter post, which they brought out of England, is now perfectly sound. A number of years after, their cotton manufactures exceeded those of all other towns. Even their children were distinguished for their diligence in spinning cotton. No less diligent were this people in attending the ordinances of the gospel, and in gathering a church. Almost every individual among them was considered truly religious, "meet to be a living stone" in the temple of the Lord. In 1644, churches were to be gathered at Andover and Haverhill; but the magistrates and ministers notified, desired that "from the remoteness of those towns, and their scarcity of houses," the meeting might be at Rowley, to which they both consented. Their minister, Mr. Rogers, was born at Weatherfield, in England, 1590. His father, Mr. Richard Rogers, "was a man who walked with God," who would sometimes say, *I should be sorry if every day were not to me as my last day.* Ezekiel very early shewed a sparkling wit, a correct judgment, and a capacity for learning. At thirteen years of age, he was "capable of preferment at the university." At twenty, he took the degree of master of arts. Leaving college, he became a chaplain in the religious family of Sir Francis Barrington. Here he was conversant with people of the first rank. Mr. Rogers was celebrated both for his prayers and sermons; his strains of oratory were delightful. After he had lived five or six years in the family of Sir Francis, he bestowed on him the benefice of Rowley, in Yorkshire. He hoped that the evangelical and zealous preaching of Mr. Rogers would awaken that drowsy neighbourhood. His church standing in the centre of several villages, a great assembly attended his preaching.

But while others were enlightened and encouraged, Mr. Rogers had little comfort in his own mind. He had many fears, and great distresses respecting his own *experience* of those truths, which he preached to others. He feared he was himself a stranger to that faith, repentance, and conversion, which he pressed upon others. He trembled lest his own heart was not duly impressed with those pathetic expressions by which he affected and moved others. His affliction was increased by not having any serious friend in that part of the kingdom to whom he could communicate the spiritual trouble of his mind. So deeply was his heart wounded, that he resolved to take a journey into Essex to consult with a cousin, who was minister at

Dedham. When he arrived, it was a lecture day; instead, therefore, of entering into a free conversation with his kinsman, as he intended, he went to hear him preach, entering the assembly just before sermon began. To his surprise he found the sermon perfectly adapted to his state of mind; all his doubts were as fully resolved as if he had previously laid his heart open to the preacher. His fears vanished, and he returned to his ministry with new courage, and remarkable success attended his labours. His animated discourses often exhausted his strength, for though his spirit was lively, his body was feeble. This led him to the study of physic, in which he had considerable skill. By the violent motion of riding on horseback he once burst a blood vessel, but by retiring to his chamber, and avoiding all company, for about two months, he recovered.

After a public ministry at Rowley of about twenty years, like many other good ministers, he was deprived of his pulpit, and his people of him, by the arm of authority. A number of his neighbours being on the wing for New England, he joined with them, and arrived in 1638; and notwithstanding the pressing invitations he received from his Yorkshire friends, who had previously settled in Connecticut, he chose to fix his residence near his kinsman Rogers, at Ipswich. Five years after his settlement at Rowley, in Massachusetts, he was appointed to preach the election sermon; this rendered him famous through the Commonwealth. But while he was praised abroad, he was venerated at home; his ministry was highly approved and greatly successful among his own people. Regeneration and union to Jesus Christ by faith, were the great points on which he principally insisted in his preaching. When speaking on these topics, he had a remarkable talent of penetrating the souls of his hearers, and unveiling the very secrets of their hearts. His sermons and his prayers often remarkably expressed the feelings and exercises of his people. Amazed they heard their minister represent with exactness their thoughts, their desires, their motives, and their whole characters. They were sometimes almost ready to exclaim, Who hath told him all this? His conversation with his people was serious and instructive. With the youth he took great pains, especially with those who had been commended to him by their dying parents. He was a tree of knowledge laden with fruit, which children could reach. Sometimes a dozen of them would visit him together, when he would admit them singly into his study

and examine them, how they walked with God, how they spent their time, what religious books they read, whether they faithfully prayed to God. Then would he admonish them carefully to avoid those temptations to which they were most exposed, and dismiss them. If he heard of any contentions among his people, he would send for the parties, and examine the grounds of their complaints; so great was his influence, that he generally quenched the sparks of discord before they burst forth in open flame. A traveller passing through the town, inquired of him, if he were the person *who served* there. He replied, "I am, Sir, the person who *rules* here."

Courageous perseverance seems to have been a prominent feature in his character. In 1640, he personally applied to the general court "for a neck of land upon Merrimack," (doubtless it was upon Parker River,) near Cochitavit, desiring that the line might run square from Ipswich; but he soon found that this line, which was granted him, would not include the neck. Though he had said this line would satisfy him, he still demanded the neck. The court were doubtful what course to pursue; they had formerly granted a plantation at Cochitavit, and did not yield to his request. He then plead the *justice* of his petition, and their former promises "of large accomodations," when he was on the point of going to New Haven; and in warmth left the house, saying he would inform the elders. But he directly wrote an apology to the governor, confessing his passionate temper. The court refused to accept this; "they would have him appear and answer; only they left him to take his own time; the next day he came, and did freely and humbly blame himself for his passionate distemper. . . . But the court, knowing that he would not yield from the justice of his cause, granted the land he had desired." About ten or twelve years after his settlement, it was thought improper that a man of his splendid talents should be confined to one small auditory; he was therefore persuaded to open a lecture once in a fortnight for the benefit of the neighbouring towns, who attended with great satisfaction. On account of this increase of his labours, an excellent young preacher was obtained as his assistant. But a sad jealousy was excited among the people, that Mr. Rogers was not sufficiently zealous for his settlement. This produced an alienation, that was never entirely healed.

The latter part of this good man's life was a dreary winter of sufferings. About this time he buried his wife, and all his

children. A second wife was soon snatched from his arms. The night of his third marriage, his house was burned, with all his goods, and an excellent library, which he had brought from England. Having rebuilt his house, he soon after fell from his horse, and so bruised his right arm, that it became entirely useless; he afterwards wrote with his left hand. His great spirit spoke in the style of lamentation. In a letter to a minister of Charlestown, two or three years before his death, after inquiring respecting the success of his ministry, and the piety of his children and household, he mourns that his young people are little affected, that they strengthened one another in evil by example and counsel. He says, "I tremble to think what will become of this glorious work, which we have begun, when the ancients shall be gathered unto their fathers.... I fear grace and blessings will die with them. All is hurry for the world, every one for self, and not for the public good. It hath been God's way not to send sweeping judgements, when the chief magistrates are godly. I beseech all the Bay ministers to call earnestly upon the magistrates; tell them their godliness is our protection. I am hastening home; I am *near* home; you too are not far off. O the weight of glory, that is ready waiting for us, God's poor exiles. We shall sit next to the martyrs and confessors. Cheer up your spirit with these thoughts, and let us be zealous for God and Christ."

He closed his labours and life, Jan. 23, 1660, in the seventieth year of his age. His library he gave to Harvard College; his house and lands he gave to the town for the support of the gospel ministry. A part of the land was bequeathed, on the condition of his people's supporting a pastor and teacher according to the early custom of the country; but they have long since neglected to do this, and the corporation of Harvard College, to whom the land was forfeited, made their rightful claim, and obtained it. So that Mr. Rogers is numbered among the distinguished benefactors of our university. Still in the first parish of Rowley the rent of the lands, left them by Mr. Rogers, has lately been more than the salary of their minister; and this, after the west parish of Rowley, and about half of Byfield, which belonged to Rowley, had received their proportion of the donation, when they were incorporated in separate societies.

CHAP. XVI.

Emigration ceased—Settlement of Woburn—Confederation of the Colonies—Eastham settled—Character of Mr. Treat—Governor Winkorp's Speech—his Character.

IN 1640, in consequence of a change of affairs in the mother country, emigration to New England ceased. It was estimated at the time, that about four thousand families, consisting of twenty-one thousand souls, had arrived in two hundred and ninety-eight ships, and settled in this new world. Since this period there can be no doubt, many more persons have migrated from, than to, New England. The expence of the removal of these four thousand families was estimated at £192,000 sterling, which, including what they paid to the council of Plymouth, and afterwards to the sachems of the country, was a dear purchase of their lands.

In 1642, the town of Woburn was settled. As a specimen of the manner in which other towns were settled, we give a more particular account of this. The town was laid out four miles square, and granted to seven men, "of good and honest report," on condition that they, within two years, erected houses there, and proceeded to build a town. These seven men had power to give and grant lands unto persons desirous of sitting down with them: each one had meadow and upland granted him according to his stock of cattle and capacity of cultivating the soil. The poorest man had six or seven acres of meadow, and twenty-five of upland; an eye being had to future settlers, for whom lands were reserved. No man was refused on account of his poverty, but, after receiving his portion of land, had assistance in building a house. But such as were of a turbulent spirit, were not allowed to "enjoy a freehold, till they should mend their manners." The seven men, to whom the town was granted, laid out the roads as might best accommodate the lands, as to civil and religious privileges. Accordingly, those who received land nearest to the meeting house, had a less quantity at home, and more at a distance. In this manner about sixty families first settled in Woburn.

Equally circumspect and wise were their religious arrangements. As soon as they had a competent number to support a minister, they considered themselves as "surely seated, and not before, it being as unnatural for a right New Eng-

landman to live without an able ministry, as for a blacksmith to work his iron without a fire. This people, therefore, like others, laid their "foundation stone" with earnestly seeking the blessing of heaven in several days of fasting and prayer. They then took the advice of the most orthodox and able Christians, especially the ministers of the gospel, not rashly running into a church state before they had a prospect of obtaining a pastor to feed them with the bread of life. They chose to continue as they were, in fellowship with other churches, enjoying their Christian watch, till they had the ordinances administered among them. But they soon obtained "Mr. Thomas Carter, of Watertown, a reverend, godly man, apt to teach the sound and wholesome truths of Christ," to preach for them. They then formed into a church, on the 24th of sixth month, after Mr. Symes, of Charlestown "had continued in preaching and prayer about the space of four or five hours." The other ministers present were, Messrs. Cotton and Wilson, of Boston, Mr. Allen, of Charlestown, Mr. Shepherd and Mr. Dunster, of Cambridge, Mr. Knowles, of Watertown, Mr. Allen, of Dedham, Mr. Elliot, of Roxbury, and Mr. Mather, of Dorchester. After public worship, the persons intending to be formed into a church, stood forth, one by one, before the congregation and these ministers, "and confessed what the Lord had done for their souls, by his spirit, under the preaching of the gospel, and the events of his providence," that all for themselves might "know their faith in Christ;" the ministers or messengers present, asking such questions as they thought proper, and, when satisfied, giving them the right hand of fellowship. Seven were thus formed into a church, who in ten years had increased to seventy-four.

On the 22d of the ninth month, Mr. Carter was, by a council, ordained their pastor, "after he had exercised in prayer and preaching the greater part of the day." When a person desired to join with the church, he visited his minister, "declaring how the Lord had been pleased to work his conversion;" if the minister found the smallest ground of hope, he propounded him to the church; after which, "some of the brethren, with the minister, examined him again, and reported their opinion to the church." After this, all the congregation "had public notice" of his design, and he "publicly declared to them the manner of his conversion." If any were, "through bashfulness, unable to speak for edification, less was required of them." Women were never called to speak pub-

richly. All this was done "to prevent the polluting of the ordinance by such as walk scandalously, and to prevent men and women from eating and drinking their own condemnation. . . . After this manner had the other churches of Christ their beginning and progress" in New England.

Exposed to foreign and domestic enemies, four of the New England colonies, viz. Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven, confederated for mutual defence. Rhode Island, as we have before noticed, was denied the privilege of joining this confederacy. The articles of union were agreed on and ratified, May 19, 1643, and were in substance as follows:

"The united colonies of New England, viz. Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven, enter into a firm and perpetual league, offensive and defensive.

Each colony to retain a distinct and separate jurisdiction; no two colonies to join in one jurisdiction without the consent of the whole; and no other colony to be received into the confederacy without the like consent.

The charge of all wars, offensive and defensive, to be borne in proportion to the male inhabitants between sixteen and sixty years of age in each colony.

Upon notice from three magistrates, of any colony, of an invasion, the rest shall immediately send aid; Massachusetts one hundred, and each of the other forty-five men; and if a greater number be necessary, the commissioners to meet and determine upon it.

Two commissioners from each government, being church members, to meet annually the first Monday in September: the first meeting to be held at Boston, then at Hartford, New Haven, and Plymouth, and so yearly in that order, saving, that two meetings successively be held at Boston.

All matters, wherein six shall agree, to be binding upon the whole; and if there be a majority, but under six, the matter in question to be referred to the general court of each colony and not to be obligatory unless the whole agree to it.

A president, for preserving order, to be chosen by the commissioners each year out of their number.

The commissioners shall have power to establish laws, or rules, of a civil nature, and of general concern for the conduct of the inhabitants, viz. relative to their behaviour toward the Indians, to fugitives from one colony to another, and the like.

No colony to engage in war, except upon a sudden exigency,

(and in that case to be avoided as much as possible) without consent of the whole.

If a meeting be summoned upon any extraordinary occasion, and the whole number of commissioners do not assemble, any four who shall meet may determine upon a war when the case will not admit of delay, and send for the agreed proportion of men out of each jurisdiction; but not less than six shall determine the justice of the war, or have power to settle bills of charges, or make levies for the same.

If any colony break any article of the agreement, or in any wise injure another colony, the matter shall be considered and determined by the commissioners of the other colonies."

In 1644, Eastham, on Cape Cod, was settled by a number of the more respectable people of Plymouth. The year before, several members of the church became dissatisfied with their situation. Though at the time of their selecting the spot, they had most favourable ideas of the soil, they had now discovered, that it was in one of the most barren parts of the country. Many, from this circumstance, had left the place, and others were asking dismissions. This induced the church to consider seriously whether it were not best for all to remove in a body. So cordially united was this band of brothers, that the idea of separation was inexpressibly distressing. Many meetings of the church were held on the subject, and various were their opinions. Some appeared to be determined on a removal, others thought nothing was wanting, but a contented mind, to make them happy where they were, suggesting that it was not a fear of poverty, but a desire of riches, that excited any to remove; still, though not convinced, they finally yielded to the others, rather than lose their society, and it was unanimously agreed to remove, if a suitable place could be found.

Seldom has there been a more striking display of the social and benevolent feelings of the heart than in this resolve. Here they had found a secure asylum for twenty-three years; here most of them were contented and happy; here they had cleared the forest and fenced fields, planted gardens and erected houses, yet they voluntarily resolve to sacrifice all, to plunge into the forest anew, to enjoy the society of their neighbours. Several places were proposed, and repeated examinations made; but no better place for a town and capital of the colony could be found; the majority, therefore, gave liberty to those who were disposed to form a new settlement at Nauset, which they called Eastham. Mr. Thomas Prince was the leader of

his settlement, and was afterward many years governor of the colony.

A church was soon formed; but they were not able to support a minister till 1672, when the Rev. Samuel Treat was ordained: he is entitled to a high rank among the first ministers of New England. Not only his own people, but the Indians commanded his affections and unwearied labours. For a long course of years, he prosecuted with sacred zeal the work of converting the pagans around him. He had four assemblies under his care, to whom he preached as often as it was practicable, and their teachers of their own tribe, who instructed them in his absence, visited him every week to be further instructed and prepared for their public labours. Under his influence, they not only formed themselves into religious societies, and observed religious appointments, but they had schools, elected magistrates, instituted courts, and were very much civilized. Mr. Treat spoke and wrote their language with the greatest facility. At his funeral, the Indians entreated the favour of carrying the corpse in their turn; thus expressing their tender affection for the man, who had so long broke to them the bread of life. Mr. Treat was the eldest son of the governor of Connecticut, who was the father of twenty-one children. He graduated at Harvard college, in 1669. He was a sound Calvinist. He was a son of thunder in the pulpit, believing that a great part of mankind will be moved by nothing but the terrors of the Lord.

With all his excellencies, Mr. Treat was a bad speaker. Having once preached for his father-in-law, Mr. Willard, of Boston, the people were so disgusted, that a number of them entreated Mr. Willard never to admit him into the pulpit again; he made them no reply, but asked Mr. Treat to lend him his sermon. A few weeks after, Mr. Willard preached it himself to his people; they listened with rapture; they were charmed; they flew to their minister to obtain a copy for the press. An impressive fact to shew the great importance of pulpit eloquence. Mr. Willard had a melodious voice and a graceful delivery. Since Mr. Treat, Eastham has had four ministers, Mr. Osborn, Mr. Webb, Mr. Cheever, and Mr. Philander Shaw, who is now their minister, and so happy as to have every individual in the town belong to his congregation.

In 1643, New England was remarkably prosperous, and licentiousness, in some instances, followed. Some people of Hingham broke the peace; Governor Winthrop sent them to

prison. Several of the inhabitants, who petitioned in their behalf, were cited to the court; they appealed to parliament, and offered to find bail to stand by its award. They were fined and imprisoned, but Governor Winthrop, against whom their complaints were principally directed, was desired to leave the seat of justice, and stand at the bar for trial. With dignity he descended, and after the trial, made the following noble speech.

"Gentlemen, I will not look back to the past proceedings of this court, nor to the persons concerned; I am satisfied, that I was publicly accused, and that I am now publicly acquitted; but give me leave to say something on the occasion, that may rectify the opinion of the people from whom these distempers of the state have arisen. The questions which have troubled the country of late, have been respecting the authority of the magistrate, and the liberty of the people. Magistracy is certainly an appointment of God, and I entreat you to consider that you choose your rulers from among yourselves, and that we take an oath to govern you according to God's laws, and the laws of our country, to the best of our skill: if we commit errors not willingly, but for want of ability, you ought to bear with us; nor would I have you mistake your own liberty. There is a liberty of doing what we *will*, without regard to law or justice; this liberty is indeed inconsistent with authority; but civil, moral, *federal* liberty, consists in every one's enjoying his property, and having the benefit of the laws of his country: this is what you ought to contend for with the hazard of your lives; but this is very consistent with a due subjection to the civil magistrate, and paying him that respect which his character requires."

This admirable address had the most happy effect. It fixed Mr. Winthrop in the affections and esteem of the people and court. By this well-timed condescension he became more powerful than ever. This good man descended from a respectable family, who were attached to the religion of the reformation. His grandfather, Adam Winthrop, was an eminent lawyer and lover of the gospel. His father was of the same profession and character. Governor Winthrop was born, June 12, 1587, and was bred to the law, though he had a strong inclination for divinity. So conspicuous were his merits, that he was made a justice of the peace at the age of eighteen. He was distinguished for his hospitality, his piety, and his integrity. Being chosen governor before the colony embarked

for America, he sold an estate of six or seven hundred pounds sterling per annum; and in the forty-third year of his age he arrived at Salem, June 12, 1630, and within five days, travelled through the trackless woods to Charlestown. The same year he passed over the river to Boston, which became his permanent residence. He was an example to the people, not only of temperance and piety, but of frugality, denying himself those indulgencies and elegancies to which his fortune and office entitled him, that he might be an example to others, and have more liberal means of relieving the needy. He would often send his servants on some errand at meal times, to see how his neighbours were provided, and if there was a deficiency, he would supply them from his own table. He sent for a neighbour, who had stolen wood from his pile, and bid him come and welcome through the winter; and then pleasantly asked his friends, if he had not put a stop to the man's stealing.

A democratic influence prevailing, he was left out of office, in 1634, and the two following years. In the administration of justice, he was considered by some as too mild. He once returned an angry, provoking letter he had received, saying, "I am not willing to keep by me such a matter of provocation." Soon after, in time of scarcity, the letter writer sent to buy one of his cattle; he begged him to accept it as a gift. But with all this gentleness of nature, he was firm and valiant for the truths of the gospel, exposing himself to abuse and disgrace in their support. He had not so high an opinion of democratical government as some other gentlemen. When the people of Connecticut were forming their constitution, he warned them of this danger, and wisely remarked in his letter, that "the best part of a community is always the least, and of that best part, the wiser is still *less*, wherefore the old canon was, choose ye out *judges*, and thou shalt bring the matter before the judge." Having expended a large portion of his great estate for the advantage of the colony, having exhausted his strength in cares and labours in their service, he felt the decays of a premature old age, some years before his decease. A cold, succeeded by a fever, put an end to his life and eminent services, March 26, 1649, in the 63d year of his age. He anticipated the serious event with calm resignation to the will of God. He left five sons; one of them was afterwards governor of Connecticut, and his posterity are still respectable.

CHAP. XVII.

Character of the Natives, who inhabited New England.

THE Indians were polytheists, or believed in a plurality of Gods. Some they considered as local deities : yet they believed there was one supreme God, the creator of the rest, and of all creatures, and things. Him they called Kichtan. They believed that once there was no sachem nor king, but Kichtan, who was the self-existent creator of the heavens, and governor of mankind. One man and woman they supposed were first created, who were the parents of all men. They believed that good men, at death, ascended to Kichtan, above the heavens, where they enjoyed their departed friends, and all good things; that bad men also went and knocked at the gate of glory, but Kichtan bid them depart, for there was no place for such; whence they wandered in restless penury. Never man saw Kichtan, but old men told them, and told them to tell their children, and to tell them to teach their posterity the same, and lay the like charge upon them. This supreme being they held to be good, and prayed to him when they desired any very great favour, sometimes meeting together to cry to him for plenty and victory, at the same time singing, giving thanks, feasting, dancing, and hanging up garlands, as memorials of favours received.

Another power they worshipped, whom they called *Hobbamock* or *Hobbamoqui*. This being resembles the devil, mentioned in scripture. To him they prayed to heal their wounds and diseases. When found curable, he was supposed the author of the complaints; when they were mortal, they were ascribed to Kichtan, whose diseases none are able to remove; therefore they never pray to him in sickness. Their priests and chief warriors, Powahs and Panieses, pretended often to see Hobbamock in the shape of a man, fawn, or eagle, but generally of a *snake*, who gave them advice in their difficult undertakings. The duty and office of the Powah, was to pray to Hobbamock for the removal of evils; the common people join or say amen; sometimes breaking out with them in a musical tone. In his prayer, the Powah promised skins, kettles, hatchets, beads, and other valuable things, as sacrifices, if his request be granted. Sometimes they sacrificed their own children to him. Women in remarkably hard travail, which seldom happened, sent for the Powah.

When the English arrived, their religion was declining. The natives said, that, within their remembrance, Kichtan had been much more addressed.

The Narragansets were distinguished for their sacrifices. They had a spacious temple, and stated times for their public assemblies; a fire was kindled in the temple, into which the Powahs cast the most valuable riches of the people, voluntarily brought by them, as skins, beads, hatchets, and knives. The northern Indians, though not disposed to imitate their example, admired this supposed piety, imagining it the reason that the plague or yellow fever had not raged there, which had depopulated their country.

The *Panieses* seem to have been a singular kind of aristocracy in a community of warriors. They were selected from their companions in childhood, and trained to sufferings and daring exploits, men of stature and strength, courage and wisdom. They were the counsellors of the king, surrounded his person in battle, and, though painted and disfigured, were always known, in scenes of blood and death, the terror of their foes.

Horrible were the severities or penances they inflicted on themselves. They denied themselves pleasant meat, and observed a variety of rules, that Hobbamock, or the devil, might appear to them. They drank the juice of bitter herbs till they disgorged it into a vessel, then drinking it again and again, till they were overcome and scarcely able to stand: they bruised and tore their flesh to make themselves so acceptable to the devil, that he would appear to them. Their Powahs were dexterous fellows, and probably adepts in the secrets of legerdemain. According to the report of the Indians, they could make water burn, rocks move, trees dance, change themselves into blazing men. What is more marvellous, they could burn an old tree to ashes in the winter, when there was not a green leaf in the whole country, put the ashes into water, and take thence a green leaf, which you might handle and carry away. They could change a dry snake skin into a living snake, to be seen, felt, and heard. Fine showmen these!

Bows and arrows were their principal weapons in war. Their captains had long spears, on which, if victorious, they bore home the heads of their chief enemies slain in battle, it being their custom to cut off the heads, hands, and feet of their slaughtered enemies, which were carried to their families as tokens of their victories. Always when they engaged in war, they painted their faces with a variety of colours, to disguise

themselves, and appear more terrible. They wore in battle their most costly jewels and dress, to remind themselves that they fought, not only for wives and children, but their goods and possessions. Their battles were rude assaults, without discipline or order.

The country was divided into small tribes or kingdoms, the son, or nearest relative, inheriting the government of the father. Their laws were few, but their kings were greatly beloved and revered. Some of these might be called emperors, having a number of kings under their direction. Plotting against the life of the king, and murder, were punished with death. The malefactor was arraigned before the king and his nobles; if condemned by a jury, the executioner entered, blindfolded the victim, set him in public view, and with a club beat out his brains. They had no prisons, whipping posts, or stocks; these are the appendages of civilized society. The kings took care of the aged, the widow, and fatherless. The sachems married none but of royal rank; their concubines might be from inferior families; these were put away at pleasure, but the wife retained her rank, and the government of the other women during life.

Every kingdom had its known limits. The common people were generally content with one wife. In marriage, the consent of the king was required, who, as a priest, joined their hands, "never to part till death," unless she proved an adulteress. Hospitality is the cardinal virtue of savages, from the line to the poles. In New England, travellers and strangers generally lodged in the house of the king. When they arrived, they gave information how long they would tarry, and provision was made for them accordingly. Though their fare was scanty for themselves, they were generous to their own countrymen, or the English, who called upon them; sometimes laying abroad, that the stranger might sleep in their cottage. They ate sitting on the ground, or rather reclining in the Turkish manner, with their victuals on the earth, without plate, napkin, knife, or fork, without bread, salt, or drink.

Hunting and fishing were their principal employments. Deer, and other animals, they shot with arrows. Sometimes they built two hedges, a mile or two distant at one end, gradually approaching together at the other, where only a narrow gap was left open; there they placed themselves, killing every creature as it passed through. Here they sometimes set a curious species of trap, or terrible snares, formed by bending down

young trees, which would spring with force sufficient to raise the largest animal. An English mare, having once strayed away, was caught, and like Mahomet's fabled coffin, raised between the heaven and earth, in one of these snares; the Indians arriving, and seeing her struggling on the tree, cried, "Good morning, what cheer, what cheer, Mr. Englishman's squaw horse." He having no better epithet than *woman horse*; but being afraid of her "iron feet," he ran and told the English where they could find their squaw horse hanging on a tree.

They perfectly understood when and where to seek for fish of every kind in their particular season. Seals were favourites, the oil being in high esteem. Their bows, and arrows, and cords, were nicely made; their canoes were of birch bark, in which they would venture into a rough sea, or of logs burned hollow, and smoothed with clam shells, the outside being hewed with stone axes.

They were great gamesters, often losing every particle of property they possessed, yet being as cheerful and goodnatured as those who won all. They often played town against town, and sometimes they played kingdom against kingdom; the people of one nation meeting those of another, to run, play ball, &c. On these occasions they always painted themselves, so as not to be known, that if any injury was done, mischief should not follow from revenge.

Their children, very young, were taught to swim and to manage the bow. Their dress was formed entirely from the skins of beasts. They were grave in their deportment, and not loquacious; but emphatical in their expressions, and impressive in their manner. The Frenchmen, say they, has a *good tongue*, but a *false heart*; the Englishman, *all one speak, all one heart*. An Indian once hearing an English woman scold at her husband, her rapid expression exceeding his apprehension, he fled from the house, but stopping at the next neighbour's, he described the dismal scene, by telling them she cried, *Nannananannanannanananan*, saying, the husband was a great fool to *hear* her so much, and *chastise* her so little. Domestic jars were unknown among them. They smiled and were cheerful, but never laughed loud, and never quarreled with one another. Their apparent insensibility under pains and wounds is well known; yet had they awful apprehensions of death. That they should be surprised and amazed, at the arts and implements of civilized men, is not incredible.

The first ship they saw, they supposed to be a moving island, the masts to be trees, the sails white clouds, the explosion of their artillery, thunder and lightning. Attempting to go on board to pick strawberries, they were saluted with a broad side. They cried out, "So big walk, so big speak, and by and by kill." At the first windmill they saw, they were alarmed and afraid to approach. They considered the first ploughman as a wizard, and told him, he was almost a devil. They readily believed the history of the Old Testament, of the creation, fall, and deluge, but when they were told of a *Saviour*, they cried out *Pocatnie*, i. e. Is it possible?

They were a healthy, stout race of men, living sometimes an hundred years; but when sick, and all hope of recovery was past, then their bursting sobs and sighs, their ringing hands, their flowing tears, and dismal cries and shrieks, were enough to excite sympathy and tears from marble eyes. After the corpse was brought to the grave, they wept and mourned, and so again when it was laid in the grave, and after it was buried they often shed tears for a long time afterward, sometimes for a year, morning and night, they poured forth many groans, and raised many "Irish-like howlings." In time of mourning, their faces were painted black. They believed in a paradise far south-west, at the portal of which lay a great dog, preventing the entrance of wicked souls. They buried the arms, and much of the treasure of the deceased with him; one to affright the dog, the other to purchase peculiar privileges. The wicked they conceived pass to the dark abodes of Abbamacko, where they were tortured according to the opinions of ancient pagans.

Their dress, when they wore any, was of the skins of beasts; often wearing nothing but a short apron before. The Powahs are their physicians, who roar and howl over them with many magical ceremonies. A hot-house and cold-bath were one of their principal remedies; the method was, to sit in the hot house an hour, which was a cave terrible heated, and then plunge into some brook or pond. When they had burned the wood near them, they removed to another place; and when the English first came to this country, the Indians supposed it was for wood. Their division of time was by sleeps, moons, and winters. By being abroad so much, they had some knowledge of the stars, and what is surprising, they called Charles' Wain *Paukunnawaw*, or the Bear, the name given it by Europeans.

Their women, as is common among savages, performed al-

most all the drudgery of the family. They built the houses, covering them with mats, so that they were warmer than those of the English; not a drop of rain, nor a breath of wind penetrated them. Some of these were fifty or sixty feet long. These were to be removed from place to place at the command of the husbands. Every year they had their fishing place, their hunting place, and their planting place, where the house remained the longest.

The women planted, and hoed, and harvested all the corn, brought home all the fish and game, dressed and cured, and cooked it: but like Arab wives, ate not till their husbands had done. They were modest in their dress, and chaste in their conduct.

On this account, and several others, as anointing their heads, giving dowries for their wives, observing a feast of harvest, offering sacrifices, and grievous mournings for their dead, they have been supposed descendants of Abram. There are, doubtless, several striking points of resemblance between the Israelites and Indians; but a further acquaintance with the history of man shews that customs very similar are common in every corner of the globe, among those nations who are in the savage state of society.

Many of the savage customs are laudable and humane. When any are sick, their friends resort to them, and often remain till death or recovery; when they recover, on account of the expence they have been at, their friends send them provisions and other comforts. The aged are treated with great respect. Their names are all significant, and are changed according to character and circumstances. If the year proved dry, they had great and solemn meetings from all parts to supplicate their gods, and beg for rain. These devotions they continued sometimes ten days, a fortnight, and three weeks, or till rain came. When a field was to be cleared, or any great work accomplished, all the neighbours, men, women, and children, freely lent their assistance; fifty or an hundred were sometimes seen labouring together. The ties of brotherhood were so strong, that sometimes when a person had committed murder and fled, his brother was executed in his stead. It was common for a man to pay the debts of his deceased brother. Their virgins were distinguished by a modest falling down of their hair over their eyes. Their affection was very strong for their children, who by indulgence were saucy and undutiful. A father would sometimes, through grief and rage for the loss

of a child, stab himself. Sometimes they would, by break of day, call up their wives and surviving children and families, to make lamentation, with abundance of tears, crying out, "O God, thou hast taken away my child; thou art angry with me; O, turn thine anger from me, and spare the rest of my children." If they received any good in hunting, fishing, or agriculture, they acknowledged it came from God. If they met with a fall or any other accident, they would say, God was angry with them. When they observed any distinguished excellence, they would say, it was a god. At the architecture, the husbandry, and other arts of the English, they often exclaimed, "You are god, or they are gods," implying that all excellencies are in God. After the season of harvest and hunting, they had anniversary religious festivals. Ought not some pretended Christians to blush at these things?

Their strongest profession of honesty and integrity was, *my heart is good*; implying that all goodness was in the heart.

CHAP. XVIII.

The Society for propagating the Gospel--The faithful Labours of the New England Ministers to instruct the Natives in the Religion of Jesus Christ.

IN 1650, a society in England, instituted for propagating the gospel, began a correspondence with the Commissioners of the United Colonies, who were employed as agents for the society. In consequence, exertions were made to christianize the Indians. The Rev. Mr. Eliot, minister of Roxbury, had distinguished himself in this pious work. He had established towns, in which he collected Indian families; taught them husbandry, the mechanic arts, and a prudent management of their affairs, and instructed them with unwearied attention in the principles of the Christian religion. His zeal and success have justly obtained for him the title of the *Apostle of New England*.

He began his labours about the year 1646, being in the forty-second year of his age. The first pagans, who enjoyed his labours, resided at Nonantum, now the east part of Newton. Waban, a principal chief there, became a convert, and was distinguished for his piety. Being encouraged by the success of his first attempt, he soon after opened a lecture at Neponset, within the present bounds of Dorchester. These two lectures

he continued several years without any reward or encouragement, but the satisfaction of doing good to the souls of men. Beside preaching to them, he formed two catechisms, one for the children, the other for adults. They readily learned these, seriously attended his public lectures, and very generally prayed in their families, morning and evening.

After a number of years, certain individuals in England, affected by his pious and disinterested labours, raised some generous contributions for his encouragement; he gratefully received these, declaring that he had never expected any thing. By such timely aid he was enabled to educate his five sons at college. All these were distinguished for their piety, and all excepting one, who died while a member of college, were preachers of the gospel. His eldest son preached several years to the Indians at *Pakemut*, now Stoughton, and at Natick, and other places. Other ministers, in different parts of New England, by the example of Mr. Eliot, zealously engaged in the missionary work. Mr. Bourne and Cotton, in Plymouth colony, studied the Indian language, and preached at Martha's Vineyard, and other places. At Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket, Mr. Mayhew and son entered on the work; and in Connecticut, Mr. Pierson and Fitch, preached Jesus and the resurrection to the heathen in their vicinity.

That the natives might have the word of life in their own language, which alone was able to make them wise unto salvation, Mr. Eliot began the arduous work of translating the Bible for their use. The New Testament was published in 1661, and the whole Bible soon after. The expense was borne by the society for propagating the gospel in New England. Beside this, he translated and composed several other books, as a primer, a grammar, singing psalms, the Practice of Piety, Baxter's Call, and several other things. He took care that schools should be opened in the Indian settlements, where their children were taught to read; some were put into schools of the English, and studied Latin and Greek. A building was erected for their reception, and several of them sent to Cambridge College. The legislature instituted judicial courts among the natives, answering to the county courts of the colony. In these courts, one English judge was united with those chosen by the natives. They had rulers and magistrates elected by themselves, who managed their smaller matters.

The first church of christianized pagans was gathered at Natick; they had two instructors of their own body, when the English preachers could not attend. In 1670, they had between

forty and fifty communicants. The second praying town was Pakemit, or Punkapaog, now Stoughton; their first teacher was of their own number, William Ahawton, "a pious man, of good parts." The second church of Indians was at *Hassanamessit*, now Grafton; the teacher's name was Tackuppa-willin, "a pious and able man, apt to teach." They had a meeting-house built after the English manner; their communicants were sixteen, their baptized persons, thirty.

At *Okommakumesit*, or Marlborough, was a society, with a teacher. *Wamesit*, or Tewksbury, was the fifth praying society; their teacher was called Samuel, who could read and write. Annually a judicial court was held there. Here Mr. Eliot used to go and preach at that season on account of the strangers who resorted there. In 1674, after he had been preaching from Matt. xxii. concerning the marriage of the king's son, at the wigwam of Wannalancet, near the falls, this man, who was the oldest son the sachem, or king, and who had always been friendly to the English, but openly rejected the gospel, after sermon, rose and said, "Sirs, you have been pleased for four years, in your abundant love, to apply yourselves particularly to me and my people, to exhort, press, and persuade us to pray to God. I am very thankful to you for your pains. I must acknowledge, I have all my days used to pass in an old canoe, and you exhort me to change and leave my old canoe, and embark in a new canoe, which I have always opposed; but now I yield myself up to your advice, and enter into a new canoe, and do engage to pray to God hereafter." He ever after persevered in a Christian course, though on this account, several of his people deserted him. The sixth society gathered from the Indians, was at Nashobah, now Littleton; their teacher was called John Thomas. In this place, and at Marlborough, the Indians had orchards, set out by themselves. Muugunkook, or Hopkinton, was the next place where a Christian society was gathered; the families were twelve; their teacher was Job.

Several years after, seven other societies of praying Indians, with Indian teachers, were formed further west. One in Oxford, one in Dudley, three in different parts of Woodstock, which then was claimed by Massachusetts, one in Worcester, and one in Uxbridge. Several other places, about the same time received Christian preachers. The places mentioned, received teachers selected from the natives, who had been instructed by Mr. Eliot. The whole number of those, called praying Indians, in these places, was about eleven hundred.

But the gospel was preached with still greater effect in Plymouth colony. The Rev. Mr. Bourne had under his care, on Cape Cod and its vicinity, about five hundred souls; of whom about two hundred could read, and more than seventy could write. One church he had formed of twenty-seven communicants, ninety had been baptized. Beside these, Mr. Cotton, of Plymouth preached occasionally to about half a hundred on Buzzard's Bay. Mr. Mayhew and son began to instruct the Indians of Martha's Vineyard, in 1648 or 1649. They were remarkably successful. The greatest part of them were soon considered as praying Indians. On this island and Chappaquidick, were three hundred families; on the latter sixty, of whom fifty-nine were praying families. On Nantucket was a church and many praying families. In 1694 there were on this island three churches and five assemblies of praying Indians. In 1685 the praying Indians in Plymouth colony were one thousand, four hundred, and thirty-nine, beside children under twelve years of age. At one time, in different parts were twenty-four congregations. In Connecticut and Rhode Island, but little success attended the gospel among the Indians. The sachems of Narraganset and Mohegan violently opposed the people's hearing the gospel. The Rev. Mr. Fitch, of Norwich, took great pains, gave to some of the Mohegans lands of his own, that they who were disposed to bear the gospel might be nearer him, and also freed from the revilings of their companions: at one time he had about thirty under his care.

The legislatures of the several colonies enacted salutary laws for restraining the evil conduct of the natives; means were also furnished for their receiving presents or rewards for distinguishing themselves in what was laudable. In Connecticut the legislature, in 1655, having appointed a governor over the Pequots, gave him the following laws, to which the people were to subject themselves: They shall not blaspheme the name of God, nor profane the sabbath. They shall not commit murder, nor practise witchcraft, on pain of death. They shall not commit adultery, on pain of severe punishment. Whosoever is drunk shall pay ten shillings, or receive ten stripes. He that steals shall pay double the damage.

CHAP. XIX.

Quakers persecuted—Apology for our Forefathers—Synod—Character of Capt. Standish.

THE persecution of the Quakers commenced in 1656, and continued till September, 1661, when an order was received from the king, requiring that neither capital nor corporal punishment should be inflicted on the Quakers, but that offenders should be sent to England. During this persecution several were executed. On the subject of the New England persecutions, the author of *The European Settlements in North America* judiciously remarks, "Such is the manner of proceeding of religious parties toward each other; and in this respect the people of New England were not worse than the rest of mankind; nor was their severity any just matter of reflection upon that mode of religion which they profess. No religion, however, true or false, can excuse its own members, or accuse those of any other, on the score of persecution." Religious intolerance is now very generally reprobated; and it is hoped the time has already arrived, when no people can be found who think that, "by killing men for their religion, they do God good service."

But the history of opinions in that age demonstrates that what has been considered the contracted spirit of New England, was the spirit of the world. Those Puritans were as liberal as the most liberal in the world. It is true, their history proves they were men, imperfect like others; but it does not prove they had any peculiar bigotry or intolerance. We have called their conduct persecution; but if the subject be understood, the Quakers were not persecuted entirely for their religion or religious opinions, but for disturbing society. For these disturbances, in a few instances, they were treated too severely; severity being a common appendage of a weak government. The government which trembles for its own existence is always alarmed at opposition, and the exertion of its power corresponds with the degree of its alarm. These fathers of New England, to use their own words, "for *liberty* to walk in the faith of the gospel, had transported themselves, with their wives, their little ones, and their substance, from the pleasant land over the Atlantic, into this remote wilderness, among the heathen, preferring the pure Scripture worship to

the pleasures of England; but the Quakers, being open seducers from the glorious trinity, and from the holy Scriptures as a rule of life, and open enemies to the government itself, as established in the hands of any, except men of their own principles; therefore the magistrate, at last, in conscience, both to God and man, judged himself called for the defence of all, to keep the passage with the point of the sword held towards them. This could do no harm to him who would be warned; their rushing themselves on the sword was their own act, and brings their blood on their own head."

That they were enemies to government, unless administered by Quakers, had become evident, both by their conduct and writings. George Fox, who came to Rhode Island, had published that "The magistrate is of Christ, he is in the light and power of Christ, and he is to subject all under the power of Christ." None could mistake this language; for it was well known that he viewed none as having the light of Christ but those of his own party; they were to subject all into his light, else they could not be "faithful magistrates." Roger Williams declared, "Such magistrates, such laws, such power, and light, and subjection, is George Fox for, and no other." Every other government but their own, they said, was a tree that must be cut down. The government and people saw and felt this; they saw their posterity and themselves exposed to evils as great as those from which they had fled. The fruit of all their labours, the reward of all their miseries, was ready to be snatched from them. Conscious of their own weakness, still, agonizing in view of their past sufferings, shocked at the daring frenzy of their opposers, they rose, and in the first moment of their indignation, they seized a weapon too sharp; they banished several on pain of death. They were banished for a species of madness, and in madness they soon came back, rushing on the point which ought to have been turned aside from such raving fanatics. One of these, W. Robinson, gave to the court the following paper, containing the reasons of his conduct. "On the 8th day of the 8th month, 1659, in the after part of the day, in travelling between Newport and Daniel Gould's house, the word of the Lord came expressly to me, which did fill me immediately with life, and power, and heavenly love, by which he constrained me, and commanded me to pass to the town of Boston, my life to lay down in his will, for the accomplishing of his service, that he had there to perform, at the day appointed. To which heavenly voice I

presently yielded obedience, not questioning the Lord *how* he would bring the thing to pass. For the Lord had said unto me, my soul shall rest in everlasting peace, and my life shall enter into rest, *for being obedient* to the God of my life."

Marmaduke Stephenson gave in another paper, informing the court how he heard a voice, as he was ploughing in Yorkshire, saying, "I have ordained thee a prophet to the nations." After he came to Rhode Island, he says, "The word of the Lord came unto me, saying, "Go to Boston."

So did the Quakers revolt from the laws of all societies, outrage decency, and seek their own ruin. The general court of Massachusetts, among many other things, urged these considerations—If a stranger break in upon the house of another, when absolutely forbid, if the intruder be slain, his blood must be on his own head; and have not the guardians of the commonwealth equal right to take away the lives of those who intrude upon the government? If a stranger, covered with the plague, break in upon a family of children, will not their good father withstand such intrusion, and, if there be no other possible way of defending himself and beloved family from the deadly contagion, may he not, from the principle of self-preservation, slay the intruding person?

By order of the general court, a synod of the New England churches conveyed at Boston, September, 1662. The people were at this time much divided in opinion on the two following questions, which were submitted to the synod for their decision, viz. 1st. "Who are the subjects of baptism?" 2d. "Whether, according to the word of God, there ought to be a consociation of churches, and what should be the manner of it?" The general court ordered the result of this synod, which was not unanimous, to be printed, and it may be seen at large in Dr. Mather's *Magnalia*, and in Neal's *History of the Puritans*.

In 1656, at a very advanced age, died Capt. Standish, the military commander, the Washington of Plymouth colony. A man so conspicuous and celebrated in his life, ought not to be forgotten when dead. It is impossible to have any adequate view of the rise and establishment of Plymouth colony without entering familiarly into the character of this hero of that little band of pilgrims. He descended from a family of distinction, and was heir apparent to a great estate, which was unjustly detained from him, and he was compelled to depend on himself for support. He was small in stature, but of an active spirit, a sanguine temper, and strong constitution.

These qualities led him to the profession of arms. Having been in the service of Queen Elizabeth, in aid of the Dutch, after the truce, he settled with Mr. Robinson's people in Leyden. He was in the first company, who came over in 1620; he commanded the first detachment for making discoveries after their arrival; he was chosen military commander on the first settlement of their military concerns. Generally, in the subsequent excursions and interviews with the natives, he was the first to meet them, accompanied by a small number of his own choosing. During the terrible sickness of the first winter, when two or three died in a day, and the living were scarcely able to bury the dead, Captain Standish retained his health, and kindly nursed the sick. On the 29th of January, he was called to see his beloved wife expire.

When Corbitant, one of the petty sachems of Massasoit, meditated a revolt, Captain Standish, with fourteen men, surrounded his house in Swansey, but he being absent, they informed his people, they should destroy him, if he persisted in his rebellion. This so alarmed the chief, that he entreated the mediation of Massasoit, and accordingly was admitted, with eight other chiefs, to subscribe his submission to the English.

In 1622, when he had fortified Plymouth, he divided his men into four "squadrons," appointing every individual his post. In case of fire, a select company mounted guard with their backs to the fire, to watch for approaching enemies. Being sent on a trading voyage to Matachiest, between Barnstable and Yarmouth, in February, 1623, a severe storm compelled him to leave his vessel, and sleep in a hut of the Indians; being impressed with an idea of their design to kill him, he made his people keep guard all night, by which he escaped the snare they had laid for him. In the morning it was found that goods had been stolen in the night from the shallop; he, with his party, surrounded the house of the sachem, and the things were restored.

Often was the providence of God conspicuous in his preservation. The next month, at Manomet, a creek in Sandwich, where he went for corn, he was not received with their usual cordiality; two Indians from Massachusetts were there, one had an iron dagger, and derided the Europeans because he had seen them, when dying, "cry and make sour faces like children." An Indian of the place, who had formerly been his friend, appearing now very friendly, invited the captain to sleep with

him, because the weather was cold. Standish accepted his hospitality, and passed the night by his fire; but sleep had departed from his eyes; he was restless, and in motion all night, though his host seemed solicitous for his comfort, and "earnestly pressed him to take his rest." It was afterwards discovered that this Indian intended to kill him if he had fallen asleep.

Weston's people, who settled at Wessagusset, lived without religion or law, or, in modern style, enjoyed *liberty and equality*. This rendered them contemptible in the eyes of the savages, who soon began to insult and abuse them. The company pretended to satisfy the Indians for a theft, not by punishing the thief, but by hanging a decrepit old man, who had become burdensome to them. This settlement was composed of a set of needy adventurers. But before this company knew their own danger, the governor of Plymouth had learned from Massasoit, the plot of the natives for their destruction, and sent Captain Standish to their relief. He had made choice of eight men, refusing to take more. Arriving at Wessagusset, now Weymouth, he found the people scattered, and in imminent danger, yet stupidly insensible of the destruction ready to burst upon them. Standish was careful not to excite the jealousy of the natives, till he could assemble the people of the plantation. An Indian brought him some furs, whom he treated "smoothly," yet the Indian reported that he "saw by the captain's eyes, that he was angry in his heart." This induced Pecksuot, a chief of courage, to tell Hobbamock, Standish's Indian guide and interpreter, that he "understood the captain was come to kill him, and the rest of the savages there, but tell him," said he, "we know it, but fear him not; neither will we shun him, let him begin when he dare, he shall not take us at unawares." Others whet their knives before him, using insulting gestures and speeches. Among the rest, Wittuwait, a daring son of war, whose head the government had ordered Standish to bring to Plymouth, boasted of the excellence of his knife, on the handle of which was a woman's face. "But," said he, "I have another at home, with which I have killed both French and English; that has a man's face; by and by these two must be married." Further said he of his knife, "By and by it shall see, by and by it shall eat, but not *speak*."

Pecksuot, being a man of great stature, said to Standish, "Though you are a great captain, yet you are but a little

man; and though I be no sachem, yet I am a man of great strength and courage." The captain had formed his plan, and was therefore silent. The next day, seeing he could get no more of them together, Pecksuot, and Wittuwamat, and his brother, a young man of eighteen, and one Indian more being together, and having about as many of his own men in the room, he gave the *word*; the door was fast; he seized Pecksuot, snatched his knife from him, and killed him with it; the rest killed Wittuwamat, and the other Indians. The youth they took and hanged. Dreadful was the scene; incredible the number of wounds they bore, without any noise, catching at the weapons, struggling and striving till death. At another place, he and his men killed one more. Captain Standish then returned to Plymouth, carrying the head of Wittuwamat which was set up on the fort. The news of this exploit spread terror through the surrounding tribes; amazed and terrified, they fled to swamps and desert places, which brought on diseases and death to many. One of the sachems said, "The god of the English was offended with them, and would destroy them in his anger."

Some reflected on Captain Standish, as being more of a hero than a Christian in this affair; but if there were any fault, it certainly rested with the good magistrates of Plymouth; Standish only obeyed their orders; they deliberately and coolly sanctioned the most bloody part of his conduct, by setting up the head of Wittuwamat as a public spectacle. All military exploits are dreadful.

In 1625, he was sent an agent for the company to England. The plague was raging in London, and he met with difficulty in accomplishing his business; but the next year he returned with goods for the colony, bringing the melancholy news, that Mr. Cushman and Mr. Robinson were numbered with the dead.

A company of the baser sort had set down at Quincy, under one Morton; they had deposed their commander, sold arms to the natives, and invited fugitives from other places. Captain Endicott, from Salem, gave them a small check, and cut down their *liberty pole*. Captain Standish subdued them. Being sent for the purpose, and finding reasoning vain, he took them prisoners, and carried them to Plymouth; thence they were sent to England. Previous to this, in 1624, the people of Plymouth had erected fishing flakes at Cape Ann. A company from the west of England, the next year, took possession of them. Captain Standish was sent to obtain justice. His

threats were serious, and the people of Cape Ann assured the company they were dead men, unless they satisfied the captain, for he was always punctual to his word. The company then built another stage or flake, in a more advantageous situation, which the Plymouth people accepted: thus harmony was restored.

A tradition in the family says, that a friendly native once came and told the captain, that a particular Indian intended to kill him; that the next time he visited the wigwam, he would give him some water, and while he should be drinking, the Indian would kill him with his knife. The next time the captain had occasion to go to the place, he remembered his trusty sword. He found a number of savages together, and soon had reason to believe the information which had been given him. It was not long before the suspected Indian brought him some drink; the captain receiving it, kept his eye fixed on him while drinking. The Indian was taking his knife to make the deadly stab, when Standish instantly drew his sword and cut off his head at one stroke; amazed and terrified the savages fled, and left our warrior alone.

After the year 1628, we hear no more of the military exploits of this valorous commander. Whether a constant series of vigorous exertions for so many years, had impaired his health, and rendered him unfit for active service, as it is said, he was afflicted with the stone and stranguary in his advanced years; or whether he became tired of such dreary, dangerous excursions, it is perhaps impossible now to ascertain. Certain it is, he did not in the least degree lose the confidence of the people. During his whole life, which was prolonged almost thirty years after this, he was constantly elected one of the principal officers of the Commonwealth; he was one of the magistrates or judges of the superior court of the colony as long as he lived. When, "in regard of many appearances of danger towards the country," a council of war was appointed in 1652, vested with full power "to issue warrants to press men, and to give commissions to chief officers," the venerable Standish was among "the first three." In 1653, we find him acting in this council; and once more we may see him clothed in his coat of mail. In 1654, Cromwell called on New England for troops, to subdue the Dutch of New York. Massachusetts ordered five hundred to be furnished. Captain Standish received the command of those raised in Plymouth colony. A part of his commission, probably his last,

was in these words; " We having raised some forces over which we do constitute our well beloved friend, Captain Miles Standish, their leader and **COMMANDER IN CHIEF**; of whose approved fidelity and ability we have had *long* experience."

He was now probably seventy years of age. He had been engaged in the wars in the Netherlands, which ended about 1609. It is not probable that he left his native country before he was twenty-one; how long he continued in the army we know not, but probably he was twenty-five when he joined Mr. Robinson's congregation after the peace; it is not probable that a younger man would have been made military commander in 1620; this will make him just seventy. He lived two years after this, dying in 1656, at Duxbury, where he had a tract of land, which is now known by the name of the Captain's Hill. He had one son, Alexander, who died in Duxbury: a grandson of his, deacon Joseph Standish, settled in Norwich, Connecticut, a great grandson of whom is the junior compiler of this volume. A house of deacon Standish was burned, in which was destroyed the sword of the captain, which fought the first battles of New England. Those are certainly deceived, who imagine they have it in possession. His name will be long venerated in New England. He was one who chose to suffer affliction with the people of God, who subdued kingdoms, and put to flight the armies of the aliens.

CHAP. XX.

A Comet.—Phillip's War.

THE people of New England were surprised by the appearance of a comet, from the 16th of November, 1664, till the 4th of February following. They deemed it ominous, (as they afterwards did the aurora borealis) of some calamity which was shortly to befall them.

In the year 1675, a war with the Indians, by the name of *Phillip's War*, broke out, and endangered the existence of the colony. Some doubted whether the Indians would not succeed in the total extirpation of the English. This distressing war lasted more than a year.

This was the first hostile attack from the natives, which had been really alarming to the country. In 1637, the troops of Massachusetts and Connecticut had destroyed the Pequots,

In 1643, there were some disturbances with the Narragansets, but matters were settled without shedding blood. In 1646, a plot was formed by Sequasson, a sachem near New Haven, to assassinate the magistrates of that colony, but he effected nothing. In 1647, there were some transient difficulties with the Narragansets and Mohegans. The next year, the Narragansets hired the Mohawks to assist them against the Mohegans, but were detected. The following year, some persons were murdered by the Indians at New Haven and Long Island.

In the year 1653, the public mind was agitated, a general panic seized the country, from an apprehension that there was a conspiracy of the Indians through the country to cut off the English. These rumours and terrors of the day appeared, afterward, to have no just foundation.

In 1662, Alexander, the son of Massasoit, invited the Narragansets to join with him in revolting from the English; General Winslow went with only ten men, and brought him to Plymouth, where, though he was treated very civilly, his vexation and madness threw him into a fever, of which he died. His brother Phillip succeeded him, and renewed his covenant with the English; yet in 1671, he commenced hostilities against the English, but was soon subdued, and promised never to begin war again, before he had made complaint himself to Plymouth colony. Excepting these slight difficulties, for almost forty years, the English had enjoyed peace with the Indians.

In 1674, John Sausaman, an Indian, whom the English had employed as a missionary to instruct his brethren, informed the governor of Plymouth, that Phillip, with several other tribes, was plotting the destruction of the English. Soon after this, Sausaman was found murdered; three Indians were arrested, tried, convicted, and hung for the murder. Phillip now more offended, sent away his women, armed his men, and robbed several houses in the vicinity of his own dwelling. June 24, 1674, the colony observed as a day of humiliation and prayer. As the people of Swanze were returning from public worship, the Indians, lying in ambush, fired a volley, killed one man and wounded another. Two men, who went for a surgeon, were shot, and at the same time, in another part of the town, six persons more were killed. Immediately, a company of horse and foot marched from Boston, and another company of foot from Plymouth, and arrived the 28th near Phillip's seat; twelve men the same evening reconnoitred his camp, were fired upon, one was killed, and one wounded; the next morning a

resolute assault was made, when the savages fled, leaving their camp and their country to the conquerors.

The troops of Massachusetts then marched into the country of the Narragansets, to renew the treaty with them, sword in hand, and engage them not to join in the war with Phillip. This they effected and returned home. Phillip fled to the Nipmuck Indians, in Worcester county, who were persuaded to assist him. August 2, Captains Wheeler and Hutchinson went into that country to renew a treaty with them according to an appointment, but the Nipmucks, instead of attending the treaty, from an ambush fired on them, killed eight men, and mortally wounded Capt. Hutchinson. The rest fled to Quabog, where all the inhabitants had collected in one house.

Immediately they were surrounded by a host of enemies, Nipmucks, and Phillip with the men who had fled with him. They soon burned every house in the place, except the one in which the people and soldiers were collected. Here they directed their whole force; upon this cottage they poured a storm of musket balls for two days; countless numbers pierced through the walls, yet only one person was killed; with long poles they thrust against it brands and rags dipped in brimstone; they shot arrows of fire; they loaded a cart with flax and tow, and with long poles fastened together they pushed it against the house. Their destruction now seemed inevitable. The house was kindling; the surrounding savages stood ready to destroy the first that opened the door to escape. In this awful moment of terror, God sent a mighty shower of rain, which extinguished the kindling flames. August 4, Major Willard came to their relief and raised the siege, destroying many of the enemy.

The savages went to Deerfield, and burned most of the houses; the next day they were at Northfield, where they killed eight men; Capt. Beers went, with thirty six men, to fetch off the inhabitants; on his march he was assaulted by the enemy, himself and twenty of his men were killed. September 18, Capt. Lathrop, with a number of teams, and eighty young men, the flower of Essex county, went to bring a quantity of grain from Deerfield; on their return they stopped to gather grapes at Muddy Brook; when, instantly seven or eight hundred Indians rushed upon them, and dreadful was the slaughter; confined among the trees, resistance was almost in vain; seventy sons of New England fell, and were buried in one grave; never had the country seen such a bloody hour. Cap-

tain Mosely, hearing the report of the guns, flew to the scene of action, with a few men, renewed the conflict, killed ninety-six of the enemy, and wounded forty, losing only two of his own men.

The enemy soon burned thirty-two houses in Springfield, among which was the house of their minister. The general court, then sitting in Boston, appointed a committee, who, with the ministers of the vicinity, might suggest what were the sins which brought these heavy judgments, and what laws could be enacted for the prevention of those sins. Their report was received October 19, and measures were taken to carry the design into effect. The same day, at Hatfield, the New England troops obtained a decisive victory over the enemy. Seven or eight hundred of them assaulted the town, but were repulsed in such a vigorous manner, that they fled in every direction; numbers of them were drowned in attempting to cross the river; others reached the Narraganset country before they rested. The English, on this important day, lost but one man. Those in Narraganset retired to a small piece of dry land, in a great swamp, seven miles west of the south ferry, that goes over to Newport. Here they collected stores, and built the strongest fort they had ever had in this country. A circle of palisades was surrounded by a fence of trees, a rod in thickness. The entrance was on a long tree over the water, so that only one person could pass at a time. This was guarded in such a manner, that every attempt to enter would have been fatal. By the help of Peter, an Indian prisoner, but now a necessary guide, one vulnerable spot was discovered; at one corner the fort was not raised more than four or five feet in height, but here a block-house was erected, so that a torrent of balls might be poured into this gap.

General Winslow, with fifteen hundred men from Massachusetts, three hundred from Connecticut, with one hundred and fifty Indians, being arrived near the place about one o'clock, having travelled eighteen miles without refreshment or rest, discovered a party of the enemy, upon whom they instantly poured a shower of balls; the Indians returned the fire, and fled into the fort. The English pursued, and without waiting to reconnoitre, or even to form, rushed into the fort after them; but so terrible was the torrent of fire from the enemy, they were obliged to retire. The whole army then made a united onset, hardly were they able to maintain their ground; some of their bravest captains fell. In this awful crisis, while the scale of victory hung doubtful, some of the Connecticut

men, who were in the rear, ran round to the opposite side, where was a narrow place destitute of pallisadoes; they leaped over the fence of trees, and fell on the rear of the enemy. This decided the contest. They were soon totally routed.

As they fled, their wigwams were set on fire. Instantly six hundred of their dwellings were in a blaze. Awful was the moment to the poor savages. Not only were they flying from their last hope of safety, and from their burning houses; but their corn, their provisions, and even many of their aged parents and helpless children, were fuel to the terrible conflagration. They could behold they fire, they could hear the last cries of their expiring families; but could afford them no relief. Seven hundred of their warriors they had left dead on the field of battle; three hundred of them afterwards died of their wounds. They had been driven from their country, and from their pleasant fire sides; now their last hopes were torn from them; their cup of sufferings was full.

Sad was the day of victory to the English. Six brave captains fell before their eyes; eighty men were killed or fatally wounded, one hundred and fifty were wounded, who recovered. Twenty fell in the fort, ten or twelve died the same day, on their march back to their camp, which they reached about midnight; it was cold, and stormy, and the snow deep; several died the next morning; so that this day, December 20, they buried thirty-four in one grave. By the 22d, forty were dead, and by the end of January, twenty more. Of the three hundred from Connecticut, eighty were killed or wounded. Of their five captains, three were killed, and one so wounded that he died in nine months. In the fort they had taken a large number of prisoners, about three hundred warriors, and as many women and children. It was supposed that about four thousand natives were in the fort when the assault was made.

The natives never recovered the loss of this day. The destruction of their provisions in the fort was the occasion of great distresses in the course of the winter. But a thaw, in January gave them some relief, when a party fell on Mendon, and laid it in ashes. In February, they received some recruits from Canada, when they burned Lancaster, and took forty captives, among whom was Mrs. Rowlandson, the minister's wife, he being on a journey to Boston to obtain soldiers for their defence. Marlborough, Sudbury, and Chelmsford soon felt the terror of their arms. February 21, they penetrated as far as Medfield, burned half the town, and killed about twenty of

the inhabitants; in four days they were in Weymouth on the sea shore, and in the same month they dared to enter Plymouth and destroy two families. Had they been so disposed fifty years before, instead of two families, they might easily have destroyed the whole colony. In March, they were in Warwick, and burned the town. They were pursued by Captain Pierce, with fifty English and twenty Indian soldiers, but he was overpowered by numbers, himself and forty nine of the English, with eight of the Indians, being slain, after they had killed one hundred and forty of the enemy. The same day, Marlborough was in flames, and several people were killed at Springfield.

While parties were thus carrying terror through the towns, in the oldest settlements of the colony, others were ravaging further west. In March Northampton was assaulted, five persons killed, and five houses burned. They soon attacked Sudbury, and burned Groton; exclaiming to the garrison, "we have burned your meeting-house; what will you do for a house of prayer?"

In some of these skirmishes, the Christian Indians were very helpful, and displayed great presence of mind. In the action in which Captain Pierce was killed, one of them fled and concealed himself behind a rock, but observing that he was discovered, and that an enemy lay ready to fire on him the moment he should move, he took a stick and gently raised his hat in sight, the other instantly fired a ball through it; when dropping his hat, he rose and shot his adversary. At the same time another Indian saved himself and the only Englishman who was saved, by running after him with his hatchet as if he intended to kill him. Another rescued himself by this stratagem. He besmeared his face with wet gunpowder, by which the enemy mistook him for one of their own party, who were painted black.

Wandering parties of the enemy still continued their depredations. The 28th of March, they burned forty houses in Rehoboth, and the next day thirty in the town of Providence. In April, they did mischief in Sudbury and Andover. At Sudbury about a dozen persons were killed; and Captain Wadsworth, going to their assistance, was suddenly assaulted by five hundred of the enemy, when he, Captain Brukebank, and more than fifty of their men were slain. Five or six of this company were made prisoners, who were scourged, tortured, and killed in the most cruel manner.

This was a most distressing time in New England. The

war had been raging almost a year; the towns all over the country had been in a constant state of alarm and terror; the enemy appearing in different and distant places at the same moment. The season of planting was at hand; to neglect this service would produce a famine; to call home their troops would be only an invitation to the enemy to destroy them. Parties must be sent out, garrisons must be manned; the labours of the field must be performed. In this crisis a spirit of prayer was remarkably conspicuous through the country. Fervent supplications were offered by the churches of New England.

About this time, their Powah told the Indians *nothing more could be done*; a spirit of dissention and discouragement seized them; they had been driven from their best planting ground the year before, and from their most considerable fishing places; hunger and sickness followed, which were very mortal. In consternation they acted without system or energy. To complete their miseries, the Maquas fell upon them with irresistible fury. They were now routed in every part of the country. Troops from Connecticut, which colony had been preserved from their cruelties, took and killed above sixty at one time, and forty-four at another. Captain Denison, commanded one of these parties. Among his captives was the terrible Nanunttenoo, son of Miantonomoh. A Pequot first arrested him; a young Englishman soon came up and asked him some questions, his reply was, "You too much child; no understand matters of war. Let your captain come, him I will answer." When he was told that he was to be put to death, he said, "he liked it well, that he should die before his heart was soft, or he had said any thing unworthy of himself." They were repulsed from Bridgewater, a town which lost not a man in this war. Near Medfield and Plymouth their parties were put to flight; another party above Northampton on Connecticut river, was vanquished, and one hundred of them killed. Immediately after, Captain Turner, with a party, killed three hundred of them, himself and thirty of his men falling on the field of battle. They were driven from Hadley, Hatfield, and Rehoboth. On June 29th, 1675, was a day of public thanksgiving through the colony, to bless God for the comfortable prospect, that their troubles were drawing to a close.

About this time, the Maquas fell upon Phillip, and killed fifty of his men. The occasion of their hostilities was singular, and tends to develop the character of Phillip, a deep politi-

ian, with a heart glowing with love of his country, and burning with indignation against the prosperous strangers, who were extending themselves over the inheritance of his fathers.

Phillip, after his flight from Mount Hope, had visited the Maquas, and, to rouse their vengeance against the English to make a common cause of the war, had murdered several of their people from time to time, and persuaded them it was the cruel English. But in one instance, not effectually executing his business, the bruised Indian revived, returned home, and accused Phillip as the murderer. Thus Phillip himself was the means of turning the fury of the Maquas from the English against himself and his people. The despairing monarch fled to his former dwelling, a most unfortunate, unhappy man, deserted by his allies, assaulted by a powerful neighbour, on whose help he had depended, his own people discouraged and scattered, suffering and dying, strangers triumphing in his distresses, and seizing his possessions. Had his father possessed his foresight and courage, perhaps his posterity might long have enlivened the palace at Mount Hope.

About this time the churches in Plymouth colony set apart a day, to renew their covenant with God and one another. The next day, Major Bradford, with the Plymouth forces, after escaping an ambush, obtained a victory without losing a man. The tribe at Saconet submitted themselves to his mercy. July 2nd, the Connecticut troops, in Narraganset, took and killed one hundred and eighty of the enemy, without the loss of a man. In Plymouth colony, two hundred submitted to the English, and a party, assaulting Taunton, was repulsed without any loss.

At this time Captain Church distinguished himself; in one week, with a small party of eighteen English and twenty-two Indians, he had four battles, killed and took seventy-nine of the enemy, without losing one of his own men. July 23th from Dedham and Medfield thirty-six Englishmen, and ninety Christian Indians took fifty prisoners without any loss of their own party. Two days after, Sagamore John, with one hundred and eighty Nipmucks, submitted to the English. Four days after this, a company from Bridgewater fell upon a company of Indians, who snapped their guns, but all missed fire; they fled, excepting ten, who were killed and five made prisoners. The first of August, Captain Church took twenty-three more; the next day he arrived at Phillip's head quarters, where he took and killed one hundred and thirty more; Phil-

lip fled, leaving his family. Captain Church pursued, and found him in a swamp; attempting to fly, an Indian shot him through the heart. His head was sent to Plymouth, where it arrived on the day they had devoted to solemn thanksgiving. So fell one of the most valiant captains of the New World; and so will the arts of civilized men always triumph over the simple savage. In a few weeks Captain Church subdued several hundred more.

The same success attended the colony at the eastward. In September, four hundred Indians were made prisoners at *Quochecho*; one half, being accessories in the war, were sold; the other half were set at liberty. Peace soon followed. One of their warriors taken prisoner observed: "You could never have subdued us, but, (striking his breast) the Englishman's God makes us afraid here."

Never has New England seen so dismal a period as the war with Phillip. About six hundred men, the flower of her strength, had fallen in battle, or been murdered by the natives. A great part of the inhabitants were in mourning. There were few families, who had not lost some near relative. In Massachusetts, Plymouth, and Rhode Island, twelve or thirteen towns had been utterly destroyed, and others greatly damaged. About six hundred buildings, chiefly dwelling houses, had been burned; a large debt had been contracted, and vast quantities of goods, cattle, and other property had been destroyed. About every eleventh family had been burned out, and an eleventh part of the militia through New England, had been slain in the war. So costly is the inheritance we have received from our valiant forefathers. The land we sow has been stained with their blood.

CHAP. XXI.

Sufferings of the Colonists—Synods of New England.

ABOUT this time, the colonists were afflicted with various and great calamities. While they were contending in a bloody war with the natives, for their lives and their property, complaints were making in England, which struck at the powers of government. An inquiry now commenced which issued

in the loss of the charter. At the same time Great Britain and Ireland were suffering under a prince hostile to civil and religious liberty; and connected, as New England was, with the mother country, she could not but share, in a greater or less degree, in the evils of such a government. Add to these, the small-pox spread through the country, and uncommon losses had been sustained by sea, during the wars which were about this time carrying on against the French and Dutch.

In this state of things, a synod was convened by order of the general court, in May, 1679. The first synod of New England was held in Newtown, (now Cambridge) 1637. Never were any communities in more alarming danger, than the churches of Massachusetts, and seldom have any measures, to allay a public frenzy, been more successful, than those now adopted. The darkness which covered the heavens was dispelled; the light shone forth, with only here and there an angry cloud hovering around. The cause of these evils was as singular as the effects were alarming. A "Mrs. Hutchinson, a member of the Boston church, a woman of ready wit, and bold spirit," had adopted two remarkable opinions. 1. That the person of the Holy Ghost dwells in a justified person. 2. That sanctification is no evidence of justification. From these two, spread numerous branches, viz. that our union with the Holy Ghost is such, that we are dead to every spiritual action, having no gifts nor graces more than hypocrites, no sanctification but the Holy Ghost himself, &c. Mr. Wheelwright, her brother, a silenced minister from England, joined with her.

The news of these things spreading, the ministers, who attended the general court in October, 1636, made it an object to converse with Mr. Wheelwright and others, who had adopted these opinions, when they appeared accommodating. Soon after, some of the Boston church, who had adopted the new opinions, moved it in public to have Mr. Wheelwright called to be their teacher; this fanned the coals of opposition.

The new opinions rapidly spread; the governor, Mr. Vane, and Mr. Cotton, the pastor of the church, adopted them. Her converts were generally among the first class of people. In December, the general court called the ministers of the churches to advise with them respecting the divisions existing. As their passions grew warmer with constant disputation, they became more sanguine in their belief, bolder in their expressions, and multiplied their novelties. On public occasions it was now said that the Holy Ghost dwelt in believers, as he is in heaven;

that a man is justified before he believes; that faith is no reason of justification; that the letter of Scripture holds forth nothing but a covenant of works, and that the covenant of grace was the *spirit* of the scripture, which was known only to believers; that this covenant of works was given by Moses in the tenth commandment; that there was a seed, viz. Abram's carnal seed, went along in this, and there was a spirit and life in it, by virtue of which, a man might attain to any sanctification in gifts, and graces, and might have special communion with Christ, and yet be damned; that faith before justification was only passive, an empty vessel; that the ground of all, was assurance by immediate revelation.

This jumble of nonsense and impiety, tedious to read, was thought vastly important and good; all the congregation of Boston, except four or five, closed with these opinions, or the most of them. At the next election, it was agreed to put off all lectures for three weeks, that they might bring things to an issue. Previous to which a general fast had been kept in all the churches; the occasion was, beside other things, "the dissensions in our churches." The differences still increased; the ministers spoke very freely of these opinions, "and all men's mouths were full of them." When the court began, they were found to be divided on the subject, but a majority were "sound," Mr. Wheelwright was arraigned before the house for preaching sedition in Boston at the fast. Nearly all the church of Boston presented a petition to the court for two things, that as freemen they might be present in cases of judicature, and that the court would declare, whether they might deal in cases of conscience before the church. The court considered this as a reflection on them, and replied, that their proceedings had always been open, except for consultation, and the preparation of causes, and that this right they should maintain. Wheelwright was accused of calling those anti-christian, who believe sanctification to be an evidence of justification, and of stirring up the people against them with bitterness and vehemence. He justified himself. The ministers were called, and asked, if they walked in such a way? they all declared they did. The court adjudged him guilty of sedition, and also contempt for employin^g the fast, which had been appointed as a mean of reconciliation, for the purpose of inflaming the minds of the people. The Governor had not then the power of a negative, but he and a few others offered their protest, which was rejected. The church of Boston also peti-

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Synod, and its Result.

justifying his sermon. The declaration
 poured to the next court.

Attention was so warm, that there was a
 general court to remove from Boston to
 the governor, refused to put the vote.
 governor, was unwilling, being an in-
 loath to offend his neighbors; Endi-
 vote, which was carried. In the spring,
 1790, held at Cambridge. As soon as
 joined, which was about one o'clock, the

governor would have read a petition from the Boston people,
 praying that the sentence against Wheelwright might be revok-
 ed. Knowing the irritability of the members, his object was
 to introduce the subject, continue the debate through the day,
 put by the election beyond the constitutional hour for the pur-
 pose, then of course he must be governor another year. Such
 was the craft of this great liberty man; demagogues are the same
 in every age. The veil was transparent; Winthrop, the lieu-
 tenant governor, objected; others supported him. The gov-
 ernor refused to proceed to the election; the debate was long;
 there was a call for the election; the deputy governor, with all
 the dignity of conscious rectitude, required the people to divide;
 a majority appeared for the election. The governor and his
 party still kept their seats, and would not proceed to the elec-
 tion. The deputy governor told them, that he and the rest
 should proceed without them. This brought them to terms;
 Vane and his party were dropt. Winthrop was elected gover-
 nor, and Dudley deputy governor; but the officers, who had
 attended Vane as his escort, laid down their arms, which was
 an open insult; Winthrop ordered his servants to supply their
 place.

Pamphlets were now published respecting the subject; the
 magistrates wrote in justification of their conduct; "the ad-
 verse party also" wrote. Wheelwright published a treatise in
 defence of his sermon; to this, the ministers published an an-
 swer, and Mr. Cotton replied. Wheelwright appeared before
 the court to hear his sentence, but they gave him a respite till
 the next session, in August, that he might have time for cool
 reflection. But he appeared, as fanatics always do, confident
 and bold; to the court, he said, that, if he had been guilty of
 sedition, he ought to die, that he should retract nothing, that
 he should appeal to the king's court. Vane and Coddington
 were so offended, at being left out of office, that they left their

seat, which was with the governor, and sat with the deacons, and when the fast came, they left the town, and went to Quincy, where Wheelwright preached. So hot were the contentions, that in July, when Governor Winthrop invited Vane to dine with him, in company with Lord Say, who had just arrived from England, he refused, alleging, in a letter, that his conscience withheld him.

About this time, Mr. Hooker, Mr. Stone, and others, arrived from Connecticut, to attend the synod; they proposed that a day of fasting and prayer should be observed, which was attended the 24th of August. The synod, on account of these difficulties, met at Cambridge, August 30, when eighty or eighty-two errors were presented for consideration. This delicate business was managed with great prudence and address. No person was named as holding such errors; no person was inquired after, as the author of such opinions. Each error was recited, with only this short remark, this is contrary to such and such texts, which were subjoined. The result of the synod was unanimous, and even Mr. Cotton freely declared, "that he disrelished all those opinions and expressions, as being some of them heretical, some of them blasphemous, some of them erroneous, and all of them incongruous." The victory was as complete as the nature of the case admitted; the main body of the enemy was crushed, and though flying parties kept up their hostile attacks, they ceased to be formidable; the popularity of their cause was lost; Mr. Cotton, "who was not the least part of the country," had forsaken it.

The churches having enjoyed tranquillity a number of years, it was thought a proper time to make a declaration of their church order, that it might be conveyed to succeeding generations. Accordingly, a request was presented to the legislature of Massachusetts, in 1646, that they would call a synod to establish "a platform of church discipline." Objections were made; it was feared that by the same authority that they called synods, and established uniformity in the church government, they might erect scaffolds and stakes to burn and destroy. It was replied, that duty called magistrates to promote truth and peace, and that they would be at liberty to reject or approve what the synod should offer them. They, however, did not consent to issue an order, but a motion, approving the measure, was voted. This was very offensive to some persons just arrived, and the church of Boston were so jealous, they refused to send delegates; but Mr. Norton, of

Ipswich, preaching the next Thursday lecture, "on Moses and Aaron kissing each other in the mount of God," they were convinced, and the next sabbath voted to send three messengers with their elders.

The time for the meeting of the synod being so near winter, but few ministers from the other colonies attended: yet they formed at Cambridge, and sat fourteen days, and adjourned to the 8th of June, 1647, having first appointed three persons, viz. Mr. Cotton, Mr. Richard Mather, and Mr. Patridge, each of them to draw up a platform of church government, that from these the synod might form one. In June, they met, but the summer being sickly, they adjourned again for a year, at which time they established the Cambridge Platform, as it has been since called, and presented it to the general court in October, 1648.

When the platform was before the general court, several persons of different churches, gave in objections against a number of passages in it, which was the occasion of its being referred, by order of court, to "the chief, and most of the ministers of the colony." Mr. Richard Mather was appointed to answer the objections, which he did in such a manner as to give more general satisfaction.

Until this synod, the churches were very much regulated by Mr. Cotton's book, entitled "*The Keys*." He supposes, that elders and brethren are the only active members of the church, or sacred corporation. The elders, he finds the first *subjects* entrusted with *government*, the brethren endowed with *privilege*. The elders *rule* the church; without them there can be no elections, admissions, nor excommunications. They have a negative on the fraternity. Yet the brethren have such a liberty, that without their consent, nothing can be imposed on them. He asserts the necessity of synods, to decide disputes where there may be mal administration in churches; yet leaves to the churches the formal acts, which are to be done in pursuance of advice from councils.

The synod voted, that "the mytter of the visible church are saints, and the children of such as are holy." It is there also said, "that the office of pastor and teacher are distinct." "The special work of the pastor, is to attend to exhortation, the teacher to doctrine, either of them may administer the seals. The office of ruling elder, is distinct from pastor and teacher, but does not exclude them from ruling. The work of the ruling elder is, to join with the pastor and teacher in those acts

of spiritual rule, which are distinct from the ministry, viz. to admit, and excommunicate members, ordain officers, call the church together, prepare matters in private to be laid before the church, to moderate the church when assembled, to be guides and leaders to the church, to see that none of the church live out of rank or place, without a calling, or idly in their calling, to prevent and heal offences, to feed the flock with the word of admonition, to visit and pray with the sick, and others, as opportunity offers."

Church officers are not only to be chosen by the church, but ordained by the imposition of hands. In churches where there are elders, imposition of hands, in ordination, is to be performed by those elders; where there are no elders, it may be performed by brethren chosen for the purpose. But where there are no elders, and the church desire it, "we see not why imposition of hands may not be performed by the elders of other churches." He that is released from his office in one church, cannot be looked at as an officer, nor perform any act of office, in any other church. The things requisite in all church members, are repentance of sin, and faith in Jesus Christ. Church members may not remove or depart from the church. It is their duty to consult with the church. Just reasons for their removal are, if he cannot continue without sin, if he be persecuted, if he really want a comfortable subsistence. While a person is excommunicate, the church is not only to refrain from all member like communion with him, but from all familiar communion, further than the necessity of natural, civil, or domestic relations may require, and are therefore to forbear to eat and drink with him, that he may be ashamed.

It belongs to synods and councils to determine controversies of faith, and cases of conscience, to bear witness against mal-administration, and corruption in doctrines or manners, and to give directions for reformation, not to perform acts of discipline, or any other acts of church authority." Such are the leading articles in the platform of 1648. This is by no means a full view, some of the things are selected, because they are important, others, because they are now obsolete and unknown to a great part of the people, for the purpose of giving the reader an idea of the religious opinions of their forefathers.

More than thirty years after this platform was adopted, it was confirmed by another synod. A vote was passed in these words: "A synod of the churches in the colony of Massachusetts, being called by the general court to convene at Boston,

the 10th of September, 1679, having read and considered the platform of church discipline, agreed upon by the synod assembled at Cambridge, 1648, do unanimously approve of the said platform, for the substance of it, desiring that the churches may continue steadfast in the order of the gospel, according to what is therein declared from the word of God."

These synods having been called by the legislature, and their doings approved by them, their platform and proceedings were an authority in courts of law. But it has been determined lately by the superior court, that by a law, made under the charter of William and Mary, in 1700, the platform has become obsolete as an authority in our courts. By the law it is enacted, that when a parish is destitute of a minister, the church may give one a call to settle, and if he accepts, and the parish concur, he shall be the minister of the parish, for whose maintenance all the parishioners shall be taxed.

Several years after the death of Mr. Hooker, a violent contention arose in the church of Hartford, "upon some nice point of congregationalism." The governor, and other principal characters, taking a zealous part in the controversy, the flame soon spread to neighbouring churches, and finally through the whole colony. In 1654, or 5, a council was called to settle the dispute, but their opinion was little regarded, as they were supposed previously to have taken sides in the contest. Another council was therefore called from Massachusetts, in 1656, but their labours for peace were equally unsuccessful.

A strong party seized this opportunity, when the churches were in a state of convulsion and weakness, to obtrude new claims. Their demand was, that all persons of regular lives should be admitted to full communion, and that all baptised persons should be treated as members of the church, and some insisted, that all who had been members of regular ecclesiastical parishes in England, and supported public worship, should be allowed the privileges of those who were in full communion. A list of grievances was introduced to the legislature on account of their being denied, as they stated, their just rights and privileges by the ministers and churches. The churches had chosen their ministers; this was considered by the congregation as a great grievance, as they had an equal concern for themselves and families, and bore their share in supporting them. These points were warmly agitated through the colony. The times were altered. The people who first settled the country were generally pious professors of religion, but many of their chil-

dren, and others, who had more recently emigrated here, made no profession of religion, and their children were not baptised. These people, as all the honours and offices of the country were in the church, were engaged to obtain for themselves the privileges and honours of church membership, and also baptism for their children. These were joined by a more serious party, who saw no other way to remedy distressing evils, which they devoutly deplored.

The first planters had a numerous posterity, and themselves had generally become grand parents. These excellent and godly fathers of the land, with the deepest distress, saw their grandchildren excluded from the ordinances of baptism, and the blessings of the church. Many of them appeared sober, were desirous of renewing their baptismal covenant, and submitting to the discipline of the church; "yet they could not come up to that experimental account of their regeneration, which would sufficiently embolden their access to the other sacrament." It became the study of the aged, how they might continue their descendants under the watch of the church, "that they might be in a fairer way to receive the grace of God." That they might be under the government of the shepherd, the Lord Jesus Christ, they had brought their lambs into this forlorn wilderness. Yet, with their ideas of church purity, they feared that if all persons were admitted, not guilty of censurable scandal, a worldly part might bring things into a disagreeable state.

The magistrates of Connecticut, observing the state itself, as well as the church, to be in danger from the paroxysm commencing, procured a draught of the questions, which disturbed the public mind, and sent them to the magistrates of Massachusetts, with a request that several of the ablest ministers of each colony might deliberate and give them an answer. "Accordingly, letters from the government procured an assembly of the principal ministers of New England, at Boston, June 4, 1657, who, by the 19th of the month, presented an elaborate answer to twenty-one questions. Among other things, referring to the state of children born in the church, they assert, That it is the duty of those come to years of discretion, baptised in their infancy, to own the covenant; that it is the duty of the church to call them to this; that if they refuse, or are scandalous in any other way, they may be censured by the church. If they understand the grounds of religion, and are not scandalous, and solemnly own the covenant, giving up

themselves and their children to the Lord, baptism may not be denied their children. This was the first introduction of what is popularly called the *half-way covenant* in the Christian church.

"The practice," says a writer very friendly to the custom, "was but gradually introduced, yet it met with such opposition, *as could not be encountered* by any thing less than a synod of elders and messengers from all the churches in Massachusetts colony, to give it currency and reputation." Accordingly, the general court, having the *necessity* of the matter laid before them, in 1661, issued their desire and *order* for a synod at Boston, in the spring of the next year. Beside the subject of baptism, the consociation of churches was an object of their attention. Concerning the latter, being desirous of uniting our churches, like a bundle of arrows, not to be broken, they subscribed to a profession made in the English churches, "That it is a most abhorred maxim, that a single society of men, professing the name of Christ, should judge them of the same body and society, and yet exempt themselves from giving account, or being censurable by any other, either Christian magistrate above them, or neighbour churches about them."

The result of their doings was presented to the general court, Oct. 8, 1662. In answer to the question, Who are the subjects of baptism? the synod say, "They that, according to Scripture, are the members of the visible church, are the subjects of baptism; the members of the visible church are, according to Scripture, confederate, *visible* believers in particular churches, and their infant seed, *i. e.* children in minority, whose next parents, one or both, are in covenant." They acknowledge, that "there ought to be true saving faith in the parent, according to the judgment of rational charity, or else the child ought not to be baptised." Those who objected to the custom, "entreated and urged, again and again, that this, which they themselves acknowledged was a principle of truth, might be set down for a *conclusion*, and they should *all agree*." This was all that was asked. "The reverend persons would not consent to this," but replied, "that we are to distinguish between faith in the hopeful *beginning* of it, and faith in the special *exercise* of it; that the apostles constantly baptised persons upon the first *beginning* of their Christianity." "All owned, that only visible believers were to have their children baptised. So it is expressed in the result of the synod. The only question is, Who are visible believers?"

The Practice recommended by Synod not universally adopted. 151

The business had now become a political controversy in Massachusetts. In 1660, the law of 1631 had been revived. This law "ordered and agreed, that for the time to come, no man shall be admitted to the freedom of this body politic, but such as are members of some of the churches within the limits of the same." This law, which not only cut off a large portion of the people from all honours and offices, but also from the rights of *freemen*, doubtless produced a considerable effect in deciding the controversy, which then agitated the country. A majority of the synod confirmed the practice of baptizing the children of visible believers.

However, the synod themselves were not unanimous; several learned and pious clergymen *protested* against the determination respecting baptism. The Rev. Charles Chauncey, president of Harvard college, Mr. Increase Mather, Mr. Mather, of Northampton, and others, were warmly in the opposition. President Chauncey, Mr. Increase Mather, and Mr. Davenport, all wrote against the practice. It was opposed by all the ministers of New Haven colony, and disapproved by the Connecticut churches. The churches, in general, were more in opposition than the clergy.

It was thirty-nine years after the assembly of ministers at Boston had recommended the practice; it was thirty-four years after it had been established at the synod of Cambridge, before a single church in Connecticut adopted the custom of owning the covenant for the baptising of children. Notwithstanding the sanction of these two powerful assemblies of divines, notwithstanding the legislature of Connecticut called an assembly of all the ministers of the colony, in 1667, that the business might "be publicly disputed to an issue," and sent to Massachusetts for several of their able ministers, "to enlighten and soften the minds" of those unfriendly to the design; Mr. Mitchel, one of them, being the most powerful disputant in his day, in favour of the baptism of children, upon their parents owning the covenant; notwithstanding the civil rulers were so prudent, that finding, with all their precautions, they were not able to carry any point in this assembly, they virtually dissolved them before they came to any vote; yet more than the period of one generation passed away, before one church in Connecticut submitted to the measure. It was first introduced at Hartford, in 1696; in a short time, nearly all the young people had subscribed a covenant prepared for

them; not many years after, other churches followed the example, and gradually the custom became general. At Hartford, the ministers and deacons went round among the young people, and warned them once every year to come and subscribe or own the covenant. In other churches, more generally, the covenant was not owned till the young people became parents, and wished their children baptized. This has been the general custom in Massachusetts.

A majority of the churches in Connecticut, and a great number in Massachusetts, have discontinued this practice. In Vermont and New Hampshire, it was never generally introduced. The prevalence of the baptists in Rhode Island, always prevented its being an interesting object in that state. This practice has now, as it has had from the beginning, men of the first rank for piety, talents, and respectability, both for and against it. The subject has been very ably and fully discussed. As it never has been, so it is hoped it never will be, made, on either side, an article essential to the communion of churches. The dissenting clergy in England, and the episcopal and presbyterian churches, generally, are in the practice of baptizing the children of parents, who are not in full communion with the church. Dr. Doddridge says, "Baptize not the children of the openly profane, whom it may harden in their wickedness, but refuse none who make any thing of a hopeful profession of religion."

In 1679, the reforming synod met in Boston, Sept. 10. The people had for some time suffered the afflictive providences of heaven. Droughts had turned the land to powder and dust, blasts had destroyed the wheat of the field, fire had spread devastation in the mart of commerce, pestilence had walked through our towns, ships of the merchant had been cast away, or returned without their accustomed profits, the yell of savage bands had terrified the rural village, their murderous arrows had clothed widows and orphans in the garments of mourning. Serious people were deeply impressed; particular churches exerted themselves to promote a reformation; ministers were roused to exert themselves in the cause of righteousness. Under these circumstances, the general court were prevailed upon to call upon the churches to send their elders and messengers to meet in synod for the discussion of two questions; "What are the provoking evils of New England? What is to be done that these evils may be reformed?" Before

they convened, the churches observed a day of fasting and prayer, to seek direction from God. Mr. John Shermon, and Mr. Urian Oakes were chosen moderators of the synod.

Respecting the first question, the synod voted, that the provoking sins of New England were, a great decay of the power of godliness; also, pride shewn in violating order, and a spirit of contention; that the rising generation were not mindful of the obligations resulting from their baptism; that a profanation of God's name, sabbath breaking, want of family religion, in daily prayer, and reading the scriptures, intemperance and uncleanness, "temptations to which, are common in naked arms, and necks, and naked breasts," violation of promises, and inordinate zeal for the world, shewn in individuals, by forsaking their churches for greater farms, or more valuable merchandise, who ought to remember, that when Lot left Canaan and the church for better accommodations in Sodom, "God fired him out of all;" opposing the work of reformation, selfishness, and undervaluing the gospel of Christ, "are matters of the Lord's controversy." That as several of them were sins not punished by human laws, therefore there was special reason to expect, that God himself would punish them.

As to the second question, "What is to be done for the reformation of these evils?" they voted, that if all, who were above others, would become every way exemplary; if the people would, publicly declare their adherence to the faith and discipline of their fathers; if no persons were admitted to church communion without a public profession of their faith and repentance; if a strict discipline were maintained in the churches; if there were a full supply of church officers, pastors, teachers, and ruling elders; if these officers were duly supported; if the laws of the commonwealth were faithfully executed; if there were an explicit renewal of covenant in the churches; if schools were strictly inspected and supported, and the people cried fervently for the rain of righteousness, there would be a reformation of the evils deplored. This synod was followed with many of the good effects which were desired and expected by its friends.

The next year, May 12th, 1680, another synod met in Boston, to adopt a confession of faith. Mr. Increase Mather was chosen moderator. "The confession of faith, consented to by the congregational churches of England, which, excepting a few variations, was the same agreed to by the reverend assembly at Westminster, and afterward, by the general assem-

bly of Scotland, was approved, with a few variations, as the faith of New England. The synod chose to use the confessions of faith adopted in Europe, "that so they might not only with one heart, but with one mouth, glorify God and our Lord Jesus Christ."

The fathers of the Plymouth colony had adopted the articles of the church of England, and the confession of faith, professed by the French reformed churches, or, in other words, Calvinism, as the articles of their faith, or the substance of their creed. This they declared while in Holland, in their negotiations with those persons, who aided them in crossing the ocean to this country.

In the synod of New England, 1648, there was an unanimous vote in these words. "This synod having perused and considered with much gladness of heart, and thankfulness to God, the confession of faith published by the reverend assembly in England, do judge it to be very holy, orthodox, and judicious in all matters of faith, and do therefore freely and fully consent thereunto for the substance thereof. And we do therefore think it meet, that this confession of faith should be commended to the churches of Christ among us, and to the honoured court, as worthy of their due consideration and acceptance."

In the synod of 1680, is a language explicit on the most discriminating points. "In the unity of the Godhead there be three persons," say they, "of one substance, power and eternity." "God from all eternity did, by the most wise and holy council of his will, freely and unchangeably ordain whatsoever comes to pass. By the decree of God, for the manifestation of his glory, some men and angels are predestinated unto everlasting life, and others foreordained unto everlasting death." In his providence, his determinate counsel extendeth itself even to the first fall, and all other sins of angels and men, and that not by bare permission. The first pair "being the root, and by God's appointment, standing in the room of all mankind, a corrupt nature is conveyed to all their posterity." "The Lord Jesus Christ, the eternal God, hath fully satisfied the justice of God, and hath purchased reconciliation, and an eternal inheritance." "God hath endued the will of man with that natural liberty and power of acting upon choice, that it is neither forced, nor by any absolute necessity of nature, determined to good or evil." "Works done by unregenerate men, although for the matter of them they may be things which God commands, yet because they proceed not from a

heart purified by faith, nor are done in a right manner according to the word, nor to a right end, the glory of God, they are therefore sinful, and cannot please God, nor make a man meet to receive the grace of God." "The works of creation and providence, with the light of nature, make no discovery of Christ, much less do they enable men, destitute of revelation, to attain saving faith or repentance." "Not only those, who do actually profess faith in, and obedience unto, Christ, but also the infants of one or both believing parents are to be baptized, and those only." "From all those whom God hath predestinated unto life, he takes away their heart of stone, and gives them a heart of flesh, renewing their wills, and, by his Almighty power, determining them to that which is good, and effectually drawing them to Jesus Christ, yet so as they come most freely, being made *willing* by his grace."

In 1703, the trustees of the college in Connecticut wrote a circular letter to the ministers of the colony for a general synod. The proposal was acceptable, and the churches and ministers met in a consociated council, and adopted the Savoy and Westminster confessions of faith, and drew up certain rules of discipline, preparatory to a general synod.

In 1708, a synod was convened at Saybrook, composed of ministers and delegates from the colony, with two or more messengers from a convention of the churches in each county. They drew up that system of church government and discipline, called the *Saybrook Platform*. It was passed into a law, and became the constitution of Connecticut churches. A distinguishing feature of this platform is the negative it gives the ministers to the vote of the church: but this is a claim which is now seldom made, and universally obnoxious in this republican age.

In 1724, the convention of ministers petitioned the general court to call a synod; but the attorney and solicitor general gave it as their opinion, that it was not lawful for a synod to meet without authority from the king, and the design was laid aside.

Such is a general view of the synods in New England, and such were the occasions and effects of their meeting. These are sketches of the platforms and confessions of faith adopted by them. The doctrines above enumerated were considered orthodox by our excellent ancestors before and after they came to this country. No convention since, no consociation, no synod, nor general council, has adopted any other systems of

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doctrine of discipline, therefore, such may now be considered the discipline and orthodoxy of New England.

CHAP. XXII.

Loss of Charter—State of New England—Andros arrives—Tenor of his Administration—William and Mary proclaimed—Indian War—Expedition against Canada and Nova Scotia—New Charter.

IN June, 1683, articles of high misdemeanour were exhibited by Edward Randolph, the public accuser of those days, against the governor and company of Massachusetts. In consequence, a writ of *quo warranto* was ordered, and Randolph was appointed to carry it to New England; and to give importance to the messenger, and to his message, both of which were extremely obnoxious to the people of Massachusetts, a frigate was ordered to convey him to Boston. To prevent too great an alarm in the colony, a declaration accompanied the *quo warranto*, that it should affect no private rights. When these arrived, the general court deliberated on the critical state of their affairs. The governor, and a majority of the assistants, resolved to submit to the royal pleasure, and transmitted an address to that effect. But the representatives, supported by the decisive influence of the clergy, refused their assent. All was ineffectual to preserve the charter. In Trinity term, 1684, judgment was given for the king, by the high court of chancery, against the governor and company of Massachusetts, "that their letters patent, and the enrolment thereof be cancelled."

Thus ended the ancient government of Massachusetts by legal process. The validity of these proceedings was afterwards questioned by high authority. The House of Commons at a subsequent period resolved, "that those *quo warrantos* against the charter of New England were illegal and void."

Amidst all her disputes with the mother country, New England greatly flourished. Agricultural pursuits were successful, manufactures and commerce were extended, and population and wealth were increased, because "the rough hand of

oppression had not touched the labours of the inhabitants, or interrupted the freedom of their pursuits." If for a short time the splendour of New England independence was obscured by the clouds of royal authority, it soon blazed forth never to be extinguished.

Ten months passed after the dissolution of the charter, when it was thought necessary to establish a temporary government for the preservation of order. During this period, James II. ascended the throne of England, and was proclaimed in Boston, April, 1685, with "sorrowful and affected pomp." In September following, a commission was issued, appointing a president and a council, composed of the most loyal of the inhabitants of the government of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Maine, and Narraganset, till the chief governor should arrive. Colonel Dudley, a native of Massachusetts, was appointed president.

The people reluctantly submitted to a power which they could not oppose; declaring that "though they could not give their assent to it, they should demean themselves as loyal subjects, and humbly make their addresses to God, and in due time to their gracious sovereign, for relief." Counsellors were nominated by the king; no house of representatives was mentioned in the commission; still, to reconcile the minds of the people to the intended introduction of a governor general, the courts of justice were allowed to remain on their original plan; juries were continued, former laws and customs were observed. Before a year of Dudley's administration had expired, (Dec. 1689) Sir Edmond Andros arrived in Boston from New York, where he had been governor, being now appointed Captain General and Vice Admiral of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Maine, Plymouth, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, during pleasure. In 1683, New York and New Jersey were added to his jurisdiction. He, with four of his council, was empowered to grant lands with such quit rents as the king should appoint. Like all tyrants, from Nero to the demagogues of the present day, Sir Edmond began his administration with professions of high regard for the public welfare.

In the fall of 1689, he went to Hartford, where the assembly were sitting, and demanded the charter, declaring their government dissolved. Remonstrances were made, and the business delayed till evening; then, tradition says, the charter was brought into the assembly, and laid on the table; candles were extinguished, but lighted again. The charter could not

be found. All was quiet and peaceable. The charter had been taken by Captain Wadsworth and concealed in a hollow tree. Still Sir Edmond seized the reins of government; turned out the old, and appointed new officers, civil and military.

Numerous were the oppressions of this tyrant. The press was restrained, liberty of conscience infringed, and exorbitant taxes levied. The charter being vacated, it was pretended all titles to land were destroyed; farmers, therefore, who had cultivated their soil for half a century, were obliged to take new patents, giving large fees, or writs of intrusion were brought, and their lands sold to others. To prevent petitions or consultations, town-meetings were prohibited, excepting one in a year for the choice of town officers. Lest the cries of oppression should reach the throne, he forbid any person to leave the country without permission from the government. But the resolute Dr. Increase Mather escaped the watchful governor, his guards and emissaries; crossed the Atlantic, and spread before the king the complaints of New England. But relief came not till the revolution.

When the report reached Boston, that the Prince of Orange had landed in England, joy beamed in every eye. Though the governor imprisoned the man who brought the Prince's declaration; though, by a proclamation, he commanded all persons to prepare for an invasion from Holland; though magistrates and the more considerate men were determined quietly to wait the issue; yet the indignant spirit of the people could not be restrained. On the morning of April 18th, the public fury burst forth like a volcano. The inhabitants of Boston were in arms; the country flocking to their assistance. Andros and his associates fled to a fort; resistance was vain, he was made a prisoner, and conducted to England. The charges exhibited against him not being signed by the colonial agents, he was dismissed, and this tyrant, thus indignantly spurned from New England, was appointed governor of Virginia.

Mr. Bradstreet, the late governor with those who had been magistrates under the charter, assumed the government, taking the name of a "Council of Safety," till new orders should arrive from England. These were shortly after received from King William, who, with his queen Mary, were proclaimed in Boston, May 29th, 1689, with more ceremony than had ever been known in that colony on the like occasion. The revolu-

tion in Boston was popular in New Hampshire, but they found themselves in a very unsettled state. After waiting in vain for orders from England, they chose deputies to agree on some mode of government, and finally determined to return to their ancient union with Massachusetts.

In 1692, Samuel Allen obtained a commission for the government of New Hampshire. Having purchased of Mason's heirs the lands of the colony, they were embroiled with new controversies for several years.

Previous to this, in 1688, an Indian war broke out in New England; various were the provocations pleaded by the natives in their justification. They charged the English with stopping the fish in Saco river; with not paying the tribute of corn stipulated in a former treaty; with turning cattle upon their corn; with granting away their lands, and cheating them in trade. The first blood was shed at North Yarmouth, in September. In the spring, the Penicook Indians joining those of Saco, they made a dreadful slaughter at Cocheco. Messandouit, being hospitably lodged at Major Waldron's, in the night opened the gate, and a hundred, some say five hundred, Indians rushed into the garrison; murdered the major and twenty-two others, took twenty-nine prisoners, burned four or five houses, and fled, loaded with plunder. The captives were sold to the French in Canada. Four young men of Saco being abroad were killed; twenty-four armed men went forth to bury them, and were assaulted by such a number, that they retreated, leaving five or six of their number dead. In August, they took the fort at Pemaquid; and so frequent were their assaults, and so great the public alarm, that the country round retired to Falmouth for safety. The same month, Major Swayn, with seven or eight companies from Massachusetts, relieved the garrison at Blue Point, which was beset with Indians. Major Church, with another party of English, and Christian Indians, from Plymouth colony, marched to the eastward. Swayn making his head quarters at Berwick, sent Captain Wiswel, and Lieutenant Flag, on a scout. Near Winnipisioke pond, Flag left a number of his friendly Indians, who continued there a number of days. It was afterwards discovered that they had an interview with the hostile natives, and gave them all the information in their power. So strong is the attachment that binds us to our native country, that often the bonds of gratitude, oaths, and religion, like Sampson's cords, burst asunder, when they interfere with this passion. Feeble,

then, is that government which depends on foreigners for defence or counsel.

This month, Casco was assaulted, and Captain Bracket was killed; but Captain Hall arriving, a serious engagement followed, which was supported several hours: of the English ten or twelve were killed; the enemy fled; and in November our troops were dismissed excepting a few in the garrisons at Wells, York, Berwick, and Cocheco. The next spring, 1690, the French and Indians fell upon Salmon Falls, burned the greatest part of the town, killed about thirty persons, and took fifty prisoners. M. Artel was the French commander of this party. On their way to Canada, one of their captives, Robert Rogers, endeavouring to escape, was overtaken, stripped, beaten, tied to a tree, and burned alive. The savages dancing and singing round him, cutting off pieces of his flesh and throwing them in his face.

As the French were the malignant instigators of the Indians in their bloody assaults, it was thought essential to the peace of New England, that these enemies should be attacked in their own dominions. Hence, vigorous exertions were made for an expedition against Canada. The command was given to Sir William Phips. His first step was to subdue Nova Scotia. Accordingly, he sailed from New England, April 28, with a force of seven hundred men, and in a fortnight arrived at Port Royal. The fort surrendered, and he took possession of the province for the crown of England. Returning, he sailed again from Hull, August 9, 1690, with a fleet of thirty-two sail, and arrived before Quebec, October 5th; but the season being far spent, the army from Connecticut and New York, which was to have entered the province, having returned after visiting the lake, and the troops with Sir William being sickly and discouraged, the expedition failed, and in November the troops arrived at Boston. This expedition involved the government in a heavy debt; a thousand men perished, and a general gloom spread through the country.

The latter part of May, the savages fell upon Casco, and assaulted all the garrisons, which defended themselves while their ammunition lasted; they then, concealed by the night, fled to the fort; then the whole force of the enemy was directed to this spot, having first burned the whole town. The fort was badly situated, having by it a deep gully, into which the enemy rushing, the guns could not reach them. They immediately began their mine, and nearly reached the fort, when the En-

lish, having fought five days and four nights, and the greater part of them having been killed or wounded, began a parley. Articles were agreed upon; the English were to have liberty of going to the next town; they were to have a guard for their protection. The French commander lifting his hand, swore by the eternal God, punctually to perform the articles. It was French faith; he immediately suffered a part of his prisoners to be killed, and a part to be carried to Canada.

The garrisons at Papoodack, Spurwink, Black Point, and Blue Point, were so alarmed, that without orders they retreated to Saco, twenty miles within Casco; and from Saco twenty miles further to Wells, and some of them came on further; but recruits arriving, they were inspired with new courage. Soon after, Hopehood, a chief warrior, who had lived in Boston, had a skirmish with Captain Sherburn, and the next sabbath his party killed a man and burned several houses at Berwick. Three days after, at Fox Point, on Piscataqua, he burned a number of houses, took six prisoners, and killed twelve persons. Captains Greenleaf and Floyd came up with him soon after, killed part of his company, retook some of the captives, and a great part of their plunder.

At Spruce Creek they killed an old man, and took a woman captive. July 4, nine persons, being at work in a field by Lampereel river, were all killed. The same day, Captains Wiswel and Floyd marched from Portsmouth to search the woods. The next day, the garrison at Exeter was assaulted, but relieved by Lieut. Bancroft, with the loss of several men. One of them, Simon Stone, being shot in nine places, lay as if dead among the slain; the Indians coming to strip him, attempted, by two blows of a hatchet, to sever his head from his body; though they did not effect it, the wounds were dreadful; our people coming upon them suddenly, they did not scalp him; while burying the dead, Stone was observed to gasp; an Irishman present advised them to give him another blow of the hatchet, and bury him with the rest; but his kind neighbours poured a little water into his mouth, then a little spirits, when he opened his eyes; the Irishman was ordered to haul a canoe on shore, in which the wounded man might be carried to a surgeon; carelessly pulling it along with his gun, it went off, broke his arm, and rendered him a cripple while he lived. Stone, in a short time, perfectly recovered. In two days Floyd and Wiswel came upon the enemy at Wheel-

wright's pond. Fifteen of our people were slain, among whom were Captain Wiswel, Lieut. Flag, and Serjeant Walker; a greater number were wounded. Captain Convers was sent to bury our dead, and bring off the wounded.

The same week, Amesbury was assaulted, three persons killed, and three houses burned; Captain Foot was tortured to death. In September, Major Church, with three hundred men, landed in Casco bay, at Maquoit, and marched to Androscogin fort, took and killed twenty Indians, set five captives at liberty, and burned the fort. On their return they sent a party from Winter Harbour up the river, who fell on the enemy, killed some, took considerable plunder, and relieved an Englishman from captivity. At Casco Harbour the enemy, in the night, fell on them and killed five, but were soon driven to the woods. The army, excepting one hundred men, were then dismissed.

The country was now in a distressed situation; the disappointment and losses in the Canada expedition, and a murderous Indian war, which lasted for several years, had exhausted the resources, and sunk the spirits of the country. In this period of discouragement, the people were joyfully surprised with overtures of peace from the savages; a conference was held at Sagadahoc, ten prisoners were restored, and a truce established till the first of May, 1692. Instead of appearing in May at the garrison in Wells, with all their captives, to sign articles of lasting peace, according to agreement, on the ninth of June the place was assaulted by two hundred Indians, but being courageously repulsed, they retired. About the same time, they killed two men at Exeter, two at Berwick, and five hundred and six at Cape Neddock. In the latter part of July, a number of troops explored the Pejepscot region to no purpose, while going on board their vessels, at Macquoit, were violently assailed all night; but their vessels secured them, in a great measure, against harm.

In mercy to New England, the force of the savages was this year exceedingly restrained. Yet, September 28th, seven persons were killed and taken captive at Berwick, and the next day, twenty-one were taken from Sandy Beach. October 23, in Rowley, Byfield parish, Mr. Goodridge, his wife, and two of his daughters were killed. He was shot while praying in his family; it was sabbath evening. Another daughter was taken captive, but redeemed the next spring, at the expense of the province. She lived eighty-two years after, and died in

Beverly, 1774, aged eighty-nine. Her name was Deborah Duty.

On the 25th of January, several hundred Indians assaulted York, took a hundred captives, and killed fifty, among whom was their faithful minister, the Rev. Shubael Dummer. The remaining people were so discouraged, that they were about leaving the town, when the government sent Captain Greenleaf and Convers to protect them. About this time, our people fell on a party in Cocheco woods, took and killed all but one; but the most valorous exploit happened at Wells. Captain Convers displayed the courage of Leonidas, with more success. He had fifteen men in the garrison; little more than a gunshot off, in two sloops were fifteen more, who had just brought ammunition and stores for the garrison. In this situation, he was assaulted by an army of five hundred French and Indians. Monsieur Berniff was general, and Labrocree a principal commander. They were supported by the most distinguished chieftains of different tribes. Warumbo, Egeremet, Moxus, and Modocawando, were names of terror in those times; all were present, with their chosen warriors. After a speech from one of their orators, with shouts and yells, they poured a volley upon the garrison, which returned the fire with so much spirit and success, that the besiegers retired to attack the sloops. The vessels lay in a creek, rather than a river, which, at low water, was barely wide enough to prevent the enemy from leaping on board. From a turn of the creek they could approach so near, as to throw handfuls of mud on board, without being exposed themselves. A stack of hay, and pile of plank, were also places of security, whence they could pour showers of balls upon the sloops; while their great numbers allowed them to place parties of men to prevent any assistance from the garrison. Several times they set the sloops on fire, by shooting burning arrows, but by the vigilance of the crews, under Captain Storer and Captain Gouge, they were extinguished. Resistance was so formidable, that they again returned to the garrison, and again they assaulted the sloops. Various and bold were their stratagems. On a pair of wheels they built a platform, with a raised front that was bullet proof. This, loaded with French and Indians, was pushed towards the sloops; the terrific machine of death advanced slowly; it proceeded by the side of the channel, bursting with smoke and fire, till within fifteen yards of the sloop; one wheel sinks in the mire; a Frenchman steps to lift the wheel: Storer levels his gun, and

he falls; another takes his place, and again Storer takes aim, and he falls by his fellow. Soon the tide rises, and overturns the rolling battery; the men are exposed to the deadly fire of the sloops, and fall or fly in every direction.

Their next project was to build a kind of fire ship, eighteen or twenty feet square, loaded with combustible substance, this raft of fire they guided as near the vessels as they dared; and the tide directed the blazing pile directly toward the trembling sloops. Never were men in a more awful situation. In this moment of distress, they cried unto God, and he heard them. To the amazement of all, the wind suddenly changed, and with a fresh gale drove the floating destruction on shore, so shattered, that the water broke in, and extinguished the fire. Thus, after alternately attacking the garrison and vessels for forty-eight hours, exhausting their strength, expending their ammunition, losing one of their French commanders, and a number of their men, they sullenly retreated, having killed one man, and a number of cattle, and taken one prisoner; him they tortured, and killed in the most terrible manner.

This summer, a formidable stone fort was built at Pemaquid, called William Henry. Early in the summer of 1693, Major Church received the command of the troops in the eastern country, with orders to raise three hundred and fifty more. He surprised and took a party of the enemy not far from Wells; then marched to Pemaquid, Taconet, and Saco, but found no enemies. At Saco, he ordered a fort to be built. About this time, the Indians alarmed Quabaog, or Brookfield, and killed a number of persons, but they were pursued, most of them killed, their captives and plunder retaken. The Indians had become tired of the war; they had some serious fears respecting the Maquas, and sued for peace, which was willingly granted them. A treaty was signed, May 11, 1693.

In 1691, the general court employed two of their members, with Sir Henry Ashhurst, and the Rev. Dr. Mather, to solicit the restoration of their charter. In this they were disappointed, but a new charter was given, including the colony of Plymouth, Province of Main and Nova Scotia, with all the country between Nova Scotia and Maine, to the River St. Lawrence; also Elizabeth Islands, Nantucket, and Martha's Vineyard, in the government of Massachusetts. But the people were greatly disappointed in their new charter. Many of their invaluable privileges were taken from them. They no longer chose their governors, secretary, or officers of admiralty. The mili-

tia was under the controul of the governor. A house of representatives was not mentioned. To levy taxes, grant administrations, prove wills, and try capital offenders, was the office of the governor and council. But in the true spirit of their native independence, the first act of the legislature, in Massachusetts, after receiving the charter, contained the following clause: "No aid, tax, tollage, assessment, custom, loan, benevolence, or imposition whatsoever shall be laid, assessed, imposed, or levied on his majesty's subjcets, or their estates, on any pretence whatever, but by the act and consent of the governor, council, and representatives of the people, assembled in general court."

CHAP. XXIII.

Witchcraft.

IT was now seventy-two years since the first settlement of Plymouth. During this period, making their own laws and choosing their own rulers, New England had established regulations for promoting learning and religion, not equalled perhaps in any nation. In 1643, there were thirty-six churches in New England; in 1650, there were forty, which contained 7750 communicants; and though the philosophist points the finger of derision at the pious founders of these republics, the history of man does not present any people adopting wiser measures, or productive of more permanent blessings. No where is knowledge more generally diffused, no where are morals more correct, religion more pure, or the inhabitants more independent and happy.

But the fairest day has its cloud. Sir William Phips, the first governor under the new charter, found the province in a deplorable situation. An Indian war was wasting the frontiers. An agitation, a terror of the public mind in the greater part of Essex county, like a tornado, was driving the people to the most desperate conduct. In the tempest of passion, a government of laws, trial by jury, all the guards against oppression, were too feeble to protect the person or property of the most loyal subject. The pillars of civil government were shaken to the foundation, by the amazing power of supposed

witchcraft. In the beginning of 1692, the Rev. Samuel Paris of Salem village, now Danvers, had a daughter aged 9, and a niece aged 11, "who were distressed with singular distempers." The means used by the physician being ineffectual, he gave it as his opinion, that "*they were under an evil hand.*" The neighbours immediately believed that they were bewitched. An Indian servant and his wife privately made some experiments "to find out the witch." The children being informed of this, immediately complained of Tituba, the Indian woman, that she pinched, pricked, and tormented them. They said she was visible to them, here and there, where others could not see her. Sometimes they would be dumb, and choked, and have pins thrust into their flesh. Mr. Paris, being deeply affected with the distress of his family, invited a number of his brethren in the ministry to visit him, and give their advice. They advised him "to wait on the providence of God, and to be much in prayer." Accordingly, two or three private fasts were kept at his house, at one of which several ministers came and joined with him. After this, there was a public fast in the village, and afterward in several congregations in the neighbourhood; and finally, the general court appointed a fast through the colony, "to seek the Lord, that he would rebuke Satan." Still the distresses increased, more persons complained of their sufferings, and more were accused. At the sight of these the sufferers would swoon and fall into fits; at the touch of the same persons, they would revive. The public mind was shocked and alarmed; the most decisive proceedings followed. For a time, all, or most of the people were of one mind. March 2d, there was a public examination at the village, and several were committed to prison. March 21, the magistrates met in Salem, and Mr. Noyes opened with prayer. On the 24th of March, they met at the village, and Mr. Hale prayed. On the 26th, they met again in Salem and kept the day in fasting and prayer. There was another examination at Salem, April 22d, and a number more imprisoned. June 2d, an old woman was condemned at Salem, and executed on the 10th, making no confession. Five more were tried June 30th, and executed July 19th; six more were tried August, 6th, and all executed the 19th, except one woman, who pleaded pregnancy. One of these was Mr. George Burroughs, sometime minister at Wells: he had also preached at the village, but met with great opposition. A great number of witnesses appeared at his trial; a specimen of their testimonies

may be seen by the following deposition. "Elizur Keysar, aged about forty-five years, saith, that on Thursday last, being the 5th of this instant month of May, I was at the house of Thomas Beadle, in Salem, and Capt. Daniel King being there also at the same time and in the same room, said Capt. Daniel King asked me whether I would not go up and see Mr. Burroughs and discourse with him, he being then in one of the chambers of said house. I told him it did not belong to me, and I was unwilling to make or meddle with it; then said King said, Are you not a christian? If you are a christian, go and see him, and discourse with him. But I told him I did believe it did not belong to such as I was to discourse him, he being a learned man. The said King said, I believe he is a child of God, a choice child of God, and that God would clear up his innocency. So I told him my opinion or fear was, that he was the chief of all the persons accused for witchcraft, or the ringleader of them all; and told him also, that I believed if he was such a one, his master (meaning the devil) had told him before now, what I said of him. And said King seeming to me to be in a passion, I did afterward forbear. The same afternoon, I having occasion to be at said Beadle's house, in the chamber where Mr. George Burroughs kept, I observed that the said Burroughs did steadfastly fix his eyes upon me. The same evening, being in my own house, in a room without any light, I did see very strange things appear in the chimney, I suppose a dozen of them, which seemed to me to be something like jelly that used to be in the water, and quivered with a strange motion, and then quickly disappeared. Soon after which, I did see a light up in the chimney, about the bigness of my hand, something above the bar, which quivered and shaked, and seemed to have a motion upward; upon which I called the maid, and she, looking up the chimney, saw the same; and my wife looking up, could not see any thing. So I did and do conclude it was some diabolical operation!!!"

On the margin of this deposition is written, "Mr. Elizur Keysar declared to the Jury of Inquest, that the evidence in the paper is the truth upon oath, August 31, 1692."

Nine persons received sentence of death, September 17th, eight of whom were executed September 22d, one woman being reprieved, pleading pregnancy. Giles Cory had been pressed to death, September 16th, because he would not (seeing all were convicted) put himself on trial by the jury. Previous to this, numbers had confessed themselves guilty of

witchcraft, it being the only way of saving their lives, none who confessed being executed. Terrible was the day. Every man was suspicious of his neighbour, and alarmed for himself. Business was interrupted; many people fled from their dwellings; terror was in every countenance, and distress in every heart. Every place was the subject of a direful tale, and the most common incidents received some fanciful construction to cover them with mystery, or load them with infamy.

The agency of invisible beings, whether true or false, constitutes a part of every religion under the sun. The first page of the Jewish scriptures introduces the subject; the New Testament constantly supposes the powerful influence of spiritual beings. Mahometans, and pagans, civilized and savage, have, for substance, but one creed on the subject.

The people of Essex county had lived among the savages; they had heard their narratives of Hobbamocko, or the devil, of his frequent appearance to them, of their conversations with him, and of his sometimes carrying them off. These were the familiar tales of their winter evenings, which confirmed their opinions, roused their admiration, laid the basis of much superstition, and furnished fuel for approaching terrors. The circumstances attending the first strange appearances were unfortunate, and powerfully tended to give them currency. They first appeared in the family of their minister; he was credulous; this excited belief in others. An Indian and his wife were in the family; they were supposed adepts in the science of witchcraft, their opinions were important; to complete the misery, the physician united his suffrage; the evidence now in the public mind was conclusive. No wonder the alarm was sudden and terrible. Children not twelve years of age were allowed to give in their testimony. Indians related their own personal knowledge of invisible beings, and women told their frights. The testimonies then received, would now be considered a burlesque on judicial proceedings. One circumstance, however, ought to be noticed. The persons accused had generally, if not every individual, been in some obnoxious situation, or done some singular or forbidding action. Giles Corey had confessed himself a scandalous person, and been accepted by the church, at eighty years of age. Mr. Burroughs had been greatly disliked as a preacher; he was a stout man, and performed athletic exploits, which were thought preternatural. Another person was an object of envy on account of superior wealth; but most of those accused were in the lower walks of

nfe, whose misfortunes or accidents, of twenty or thirty years standing, were now brought as fatal charges against them. Some evil of private life was the ground of suspicion. These circumstances perplexed the judges, and increased the public fury. The frenzy lasted from March to October. The supposed sufferers now becoming more daring, accused some of the best people in the country; suspicion now roused from its lethargy; condemnation ceased; the accusers were silent; those under sentence were reprieved, and afterwards pardoned.

If we can be convinced by the uniform protestations of those executed, or the confessions of numbers who had been accusers, or the deliberate recantations of others who had confessed themselves witches, or the universal conviction of error in the minds of those who had been leading actors in these awful scenes, or the entire change of public opinion, we shall be satisfied that the whole originated in folly and delusion. All these are facts. All those executed, the first excepted, protested their innocence with their dying breath, when a confession would have saved their lives. Several years after, persons who had been accusers, when admitted to the church, confessed their delusion in such conduct, and asked "pardon for having brought the guilt of innocent blood on the land." The following is an extract from the confession of six persons belonging to Andover, who had owned themselves witches; "We were all seized as prisoners; knowing ourselves altogether innocent, we were all exceedingly astonished, and amazed, and affrighted out of our reason; and our dearest relations, seeing us in this dreadful condition, and knowing our great danger, apprehending there was no other way to save our lives, persuaded us to confess; we said any thing and every thing which they desired."

On the day of a public fast, in the south meeting house of Boston, one of the judges, who had been concerned in the condemnation of these unhappy victims at Salem, delivered in a paper, and while it was reading, stood up; it was to desire prayers, &c. "being apprehensive he might have fallen into some errors at Salem."

The following is from the declaration of twelve men, who had been jurymen at some of these trials: "We do therefore signify our deep sense of, and sorrow for, our errors in acting on such evidence; we pray that we may be considered candidly and aright, by the living sufferers, as being then under the power of a strong and general delusion." Mr. Paris, who

was active in the prosecution, and evidently a serious and conscientious man, in his public confession, November 29th, 1694, says, "I do acknowledge, upon after consideration, that were the same troubles again to happen, which the Lord of his mercy for ever prevent, I should not agree with my former apprehensions in all points."

Martha Cory, a member of the church in Salem village, admitted April 27th, 1690, was, after examination, upon suspicion of witchcraft, March 21st, 1692, committed to prison, and condemned to the gallows. By general consent, she was voted to be excommunicated out of the church. The following will show, in a most affecting manner, the light in which the church viewed this vote ten years after. In "December, 1702, the pastor spoke to the church on the sabbath as followeth. Brethren, I find in your church book a record of Martha Cory's being excommunicated for witchcraft; and the generality of the land being sensible of the errors that prevailed in that day, some of her friends have moved me several times to propose to this church, whether it be not our duty to recal that sentence, that so it may not stand against her to all generations. And I myself, being a stranger to her, and being ignorant of what was alleged against her, I shall now only leave it to your consideration, and shall determine the matter by a vote, the next convenient opportunity. February 14th, the pastor moved the church to revoke Martha Cory's excommunication; a majority voted for revoking it." So deep was the people's sense of the errors of those transactions, that a great part of Mr. Paris's congregation could not persuade themselves to sit under his ministry. Accordingly, after great difficulty, after a respectable council had laboured in vain for their reconciliation, after an arbitration respecting the business, Mr. Paris was dismissed, July 24th, 1697, as the aggrieved state to the arbitrators, "for being an instrument to their miseries."

If any reader point the finger of scorn at the people of Essex, or the judiciary of Massachusetts, for their credulity and errors, he is informed they acted in conformity to the public opinion of the world at that time, that they were guided in their judicial proceedings by the writings of Keeble on the Common Law, Sir Mathew Hale, Glanvil, Bernard, Baxter, &c. He is informed that while the people of this once devoted neighbourhood soon saw and retracted their errors, and would now be the last people to fall into such a delusion, other

parts of the world have been more slowly convinced. At Tring, in Hertfordshire, twenty miles from London, in 1751, two aged persons were drowned, supposed to be guilty of witchcraft. At Huntingdon the anniversary of the execution of a family for witchcraft is celebrated to this day. A preacher from Cambridge delivers a discourse against witchcraft. At Embo, in Scotland, a person was executed for witchcraft, in 1727. At Rome, the Rev. Father Altizza was lately seized for the crime of sorcery.

CHAP. XXIV.

French War—Complaint against Gov. Phips—His Character—Indian and French Ravages—Yale College—Indian War—Peace—Death of Queen Ann—George I. crowned—Small Pox—Earthquake—Burnet Governor—his Death.

IN 1694, the sword was drawn again, after being sheathed about a year. The Sieur Villion, commander of the French at Penobscot, with two hundred and fifty Indians from the tribes of St. John, Penobscot, and Norridgewock, assaulted the people on Oyster river, in New Hampshire; killed and captured about one hundred persons, and burned twenty houses, five of which were garrisons.

During these distresses the people became uneasy, ascribing their sufferings to the government, and a number made complaint to the king against governor Phips. He and his accusers were summoned to Whitehall. In November he embarked for England, a majority of the general court being in his favour, he carried a recommendation from the legislature, that they might not be deprived of so excellent a governor. But before his trial he was seized with a malignant fever, of which he died, in the fifty-fourth year of his age. Sir William Phips was born of poor parents, on the bank of the Kennebec. He was first a shepherd, then a ship carpenter, then a seaman. By discovering a Spanish wreck, near Port De La Plata, he became rich, and was brought into notice. He was a man of enterprise, diligence, and perseverance; religious himself, and disposed to promote piety in others.

The Indians continued to ravage the frontiers, and in October, 1695, a party penetrated to Newbury, and made captives of John Brown and his family, excepting one girl, who escaped, and ran five miles to the water side near Newburyport, and alarmed the people. Capt. Greenleaf instantly pursued, and, before it was light the next day, overtook and rescued the captives, nine in number. The Indians, when they found it impossible to carry them off, had determined and attempted to kill them; but such was their hurry, the wounds they gave them were not mortal; all recovered. Capt. Greenleaf received a musket ball in his arm, when he made this attack, which is now preserved in the family.

The French and Indians in 1696, took and demolished the fort at Pemaquid.

In 1697, the French projected an invasion of the country. A fleet arrived at Newfoundland, expecting an army from Canada, to assault Boston, and ravage the coast to Piscataqua; but the season was advanced, provisions failed, and the design was relinquished. After the peace of Ryswick, 1698, the French could no longer assist the savages; they therefore buried the hatchet, restored their captives, ratified their former engagements, and, in 1699, submitted to the British crown.

At the close of the war in Europe, the king appointed the earl of Bellamont governor of New York, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire. He resided at New York; Mr. Stoughton conducted the affairs of New England. In May, Lord Bellamont visited Boston. He was a nobleman of polite, conciliating manners, and professed great esteem for the congregational ministers, and, with the general court, as was customary at that time, attended the stated Thursday lectures at Boston. In his time, the pirates, who had been connived at for thirty or forty years, were arrested and punished. Numbers were executed at Boston. Bradish, Kidd, and others were carried to England, tried, and executed.

Soon after the session of the general court, in May 1700, Lord Bellamont returned to New York, where he died, the 5th of March following.

This year, Yale College was founded. It was first established at Killingworth, where it was continued seven years; it was then removed to Saybrook, where it remained till 1716, when it was fixed at New Haven. Governor Yale was among its principal benefactors, for which it was, in 1718, called Yale College. The first building was of wood 170 feet

long, 22 wide, erected in 1717. In 1782, this was taken down. There are now three colleges, each 100 feet long, 40 wide; there is a chapel 50 feet long; 40 feet wide, with a steeple 130 feet high, and another building of a like size, for the library, &c. beside a dining hall, 60 feet by 40, a dwelling house, for the president, and another for the professor of divinity. There is a handsome philosophical apparatus, and a library of about 4000 volumes.

The first charter of incorporation was granted to eleven ministers, under the denomination of trustees, in 1701. Their powers were enlarged by an additional charter in 1723, and by another in 1743, when the trustees were incorporated by the name of "the President and Fellows of Yale College, New Haven."

By an act of the legislature for enlarging the powers and increasing the funds of Yale College, passed in 1792, and accepted by the corporation, the governor, lieutenant governor, and the six senior assistants in the council of the state, for the time being, are trustees and fellows of the college, in addition to the former corporation. The executive authority is vested in the president, professors, and tutors. There is at present, a president, a professor of divinity, a professor of natural philosophy, and astronomy, and four tutors. In 1801, there were two hundred and twenty four students in the four classes.

In May and September, annually, the several classes are examined in all their classical studies. As incentives to improvement in composition and oratory, those most necessary acquirements for public characters, quarterly exercises are appointed by the president and tutors to be exhibited by their several classes in rotation. The public commencement is held on the second Wednesday in September annually.

In 1702, Queen Ann appointed Joseph Dudley, Esq. to succeed Bellamont as governor of Massachusetts and New Hampshire. According to his instructions he required a permanent salary, and maintained a long and obstinate struggle with the general court of Massachusetts, but was finally obliged to relinquish the object.

In 1703, the Indians, aided as usual by the French, attacked all the settlements from Canso to Wells; killed and took about 130 people, and burned many houses. Women and children fled to garrisons; the men carried their arms into the field of labour, and posted centinels round them; small parties of the enemy were frequently making assaults; and the

whole country, from Deerfield to Canso, for some time, was in constant alarm. Towards the close of the year, three hundred French and Indians fell upon Deerfield, murdered forty of the inhabitants, took one hundred captives, and left the village in flames. To repel such bloody foes, the famous Col. Church, so distinguished in the wars of Philip, in 1704, was ordered to the eastward. At Piscataqua, he was joined by Major Hilton; they destroyed Minas and Chignecto, and did some damage to the French at Penobscot and Passamaquoddy.

The following year, a number of captives taken at Deerfield were redeemed. In April, 1706, the Indians killed eight people at Oyster river. The garrison was near, but not a man in it. The women put on hats, loosened their hair, and fired so briskly, that the enemy fled, without burning or plundering the house they had assaulted. The year following, the Indians came to Reading, within ten miles of Boston, killed a woman and three children, and carried off five captives. Persons were also killed and prisoners taken this year at Chelmsford, Sudbury, Groton and Exeter.

On the 27th of November, 1707, died John Winthrop, Esq. governor of Connecticut, and was buried in Boston. The bones of John Winthrop, the first governor of Massachusetts, his son and grandson, governors of Connecticut, rest in the same tomb, in the oldest burying ground in Boston. There was this year an unsuccessful expedition against Port Royal.

On the 29th of August, 1708, Haverhill was assaulted by the Indians; thirty or forty persons were killed, among whom was their minister, Mr. Rolf; twenty or thirty houses were burned, and the rest plundered. Such had been the loss of men in Massachusetts, by their dreadful wars with the French and Indians, that in 1713, the province had not doubled in half a century. The same observations may be made respecting the period from 1722 to 1762. Had the French, in Canada, been subdued a hundred years sooner, it is supposed there would have been more than three hundred thousand souls in New England more than there now are.

In 1710, the territory of Acadia was subdued, by the surrender of Port Royal. The name of the place was changed to Annapolis, in honour of the queen. Samuel Vetch, a colonel in the victorious army, was appointed governor.

This success encouraged New England to attempt, the next year, the conquest of Canada. General Nicholson was successful in soliciting aid from the British court. The com-

bined army of Old and New England troops, being 6,500 men, with a fleet of five ships of war, engaged in the enterprise: but in the way, eight transports were wrecked on Egg Island, and a thousand people perished, among whom there was but one man from New England. The expedition was relinquished: the consequence was new assaults from the savages. But news of the peace of Utrecht arriving, a suspension of arms was proclaimed at Portsmouth, October 29, 1712. The Indians came in, and agreed upon articles of peace. Never was an event more welcome to the provinces. They had been bleeding for almost forty years; five or six thousand men had fallen in battle, or by disease in the army. Massachusetts and New Hampshire were the principal sufferers. The inhabitants of Connecticut had increased to about seventeen thousand. The people were religious: their righteousness exalted their character. In 1696, there were one hundred and thirty churches in these colonies, thirty-five of which were in Connecticut. At this period, Connecticut had forty-five towns. The number of ordained ministers was forty-three. There was an ordained minister to every four hundred persons, or to every eighty families. There was not one vacant church in the colony. There was also a number of candidates preaching in the new towns, where no churches were formed. About this time, Boston was laid in ashes by an accidental fire, but was soon rebuilt in a more elegant style.

The death of Queen Ann, and the accession of George I. was announced in New England, September 15, 1714. Col. Shute being appointed governor of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, Mr. Dudley retired to a private station. Gov. Shute was a man of ambition, possessing too high ideas of royal authority, to accord with the republican feelings of the people of New England. Their controversies with him and with other governors, proved, that they could never be enslaved, till their character was totally changed. He arrived in Boston October 5th, 1716, and was received with great parade. The summer following, he, with a number of the council from both provinces, met the Indians at Arrocotic Island, to confirm their friendship, to persuade them to relinquish popery, and embrace the protestant religion. He offered them an Indian bible, and a protestant missionary; they rejected both.

Some time elapsed before the opposition, usually displayed against royal governors, shewed itself; but, in 1720, the storm rose higher than it had for a number of years. The

governor negated the speaker chosen by the house; they refused to choose another; he dissolved them. The flame of popular resentment blazed through the province. He revived the old controversy of a fixed salary, and met with the fate of his predecessors. But the people of New Hampshire were satisfied with governor Shute's administration, and contributed more than their proportion toward his support. So strong was the tide of opposition at Boston, that the governor, in 1720, returned to England, and presented a variety of complaints against the house of representatives. Among other things, he complained, that they had usurped his right of appointing days of fasting and thanksgiving. The British ministry justified the governor, and the province was obliged to accept an explanatory charter, dated August 12th, 1724. This confirmed the right of the governor, to negative the speaker, and forbid the house to adjourn for more than two days, without his consent.

In 1721, the small pox was very mortal in Boston, and several adjacent towns. In Boston 5889 caught it, and 844 died. The Rev. Dr. Cotton Mather had read of inoculation among the Turks. He recommended it to the physicians. Dr. Boylston alone complied. He was first successful in his own family, and afterward gave it to many others in the same way; but the business was, in general, very unpopular, and finally forbidden by the general court.

In the winter, an unsuccessful attempt was made to seize Ralle, the French missionary at Norridgwock. This provoked the Indians to vengeance, and after various hostilities, they destroyed Brunswick. By these things, the government was induced, in 1722, to make another attempt upon Norridgwock. Captains Moulton and Harman, of York, surprised the village, killed the Jesuit and about eighty Indians; rescued three prisoners, burned the wigwams and chapel; and brought away the plate and furniture. The military spirit was roused, government offered £100 for every scalp; Capt. Lovell, of Dunstable, became a daring adventurer. At one time he brought in ten scalps; but soon after fell in battle, with more than a fourth part of his companions, near Winipisioke pond.

After Governor Shute's departure, Lieutenant Governor Dummer managed the affairs of Massachusetts, and Mr. Wentworth those of New Hampshire. In 1724, Fort Dummer was built in Hinsdale, and the first settlement made in Vermont. At his decease, Governor Dummer bequeathed a

valuable estate in Byfield to that parish towards supporting a grammar school. This is now Dummer Academy.

The year 1727, was remarkable for the greatest earthquake which had ever been known in New England. It happened October 29, at 10 o'clock, P. M. and is still remembered by our aged people. The heavens were clear, the atmosphere perfectly calm, the moon shining in her glory. The shock extended several hundred miles; its greatest force was displayed at Newbury, in Essex county; the earth burst open in several places; more than a hundred cartloads of earth were thrown out, which in a few days emitted a loathsome smell. But the most remarkable and important effect was the panic, which seized the public mind at that time; many supposing that "nature's final hour had come," and the general seriousness which followed. In many towns, numbers were awakened, a reformation of morals was visible, family prayer was more generally attended, and great additions were made to many churches.

Upon the accession of George II. this year. Mr. William Burnet, son to the good Bishop of Sarum, was appointed governor of Massachusetts and New Hampshire. He had been popular as a governor of New York and New Jersey, and was received in Boston with great pomp, being met there by the lieutenant-governor of New Hampshire, and a committee of the council and assembly. The government of New Hampshire gave him a fixed salary on certain conditions, but in Massachusetts there was soon a warm altercation between him and the general court on this subject. His nerves should have been "made of sterner stuff," to contend with Massachusetts. He was disappointed; he was depressed; he died in a few months. When the news of this reached England, the resentment there was so great, that a proposal was made to reduce the colony to absolute dependence on the crown; but milder measures prevailed, and Mr. Jonathan Belcher, a native of the province, an only son of a wealthy farmer, then a merchant in London, was appointed governor of Massachusetts and New Hampshire.

CHAP. XXV.

Public Ferment in Massachusetts—Dreadful Mortality—Line established between Massachusetts and New Hampshire—Shirley, Governor—Louisbrough taken—French Invasion—Congress at Albany—Nova Scotia taken—Braddock's Defeat.

WHILE these provinces were in a constant ferment by their contentions with their governors, Connecticut and Rhode Island, under their ancient charters, enjoyed tranquillity, chose their own rulers, and enacted their own laws. The altercations of Massachusetts fanned the coals of independance, and finally produced the explosion which has for ever separated the two countries.

In August, 1730, Mr. Belcher was received with great joy; like his predecessors, he proposed a fixed salary, like them he saw his proposal repelled with violence. He saw the cause was desperate, and obtained leave from the British court, to receive such sums as should be granted him. So terminated the long, the tedious contest respecting the governor's salary.

In 1735, was the most extensive and fatal epidemic, which has been known in New England since its settlement by the English. It was called the *throat distemper*. The throat swelled with white or ash-coloured specks, an efflorescence appeared on the skin; there was a great debility of the whole system, and a strong tendency to putridity. Its first appearance was in May, 1735, at Kingston, in New Hampshire. The first person seized was a child, who died in three days. In about a week, it appeared four miles distant, three children died on the third day. During the summer, it spread through the town; of the first forty who had it, not one recovered. In August it appeared in Exeter, an adjacent town, where one hundred and twenty-seven died; in September, at Boston, fifty miles south, where one hundred and fourteen died; at Byfield, fifteen miles south of Kingston, October 23d; nor was it known in Chester, an adjoining town, till this month. At Byfield only one died in October, in November two died, in December ten, in January seven, in February three, in March six, in April five, in May seven, in June four, in July nine, in August twenty-five, in September thirteen, in October eight, in November four; the last of which died on the 23d, so that in just thir-

teen months, one hundred and four persons died, which was about the seventh part of the population of the parish. Eight children were buried from one family, four of them in the same grave; another family lost five children. In other places, from three to six children were lost out of a family. In some towns one in three, and others one in four, who were sick, died. In Hampton Falls, twenty families buried all their children: twenty-seven persons were lost out of five families, and more than a sixth part of the inhabitants died. In the province of New Hampshire alone, which then had only fifteen towns, not less than one thousand persons, of whom nine hundred were under twenty years of age, fell victims to this terrible malady.

It was not an enemy of any particular season or situation. It continued through the whole year. It appeared afterward in 1754 and 1755, spreading mortality through New England. In some places in Connecticut, it was quite as fatal as in Massachusetts. It again alarmed New Hampshire and Massachusetts in 1784, 5, 6, and 7, and 1802. It has of late been much more under the controul of medicine; but still it is a formidable enemy, walking in darkness; appearing here to-day, and perhaps to-morrow in the remotest place in the neighbourhood, without any intercourse or similarity of situation; the distress and anguish it brings is often indescribable; the writhings and contortions of the patient, seem as great as if he were on a bed of burning coals.

The divisional line, in 1740, was finally determined by the lords of the council, between New Hampshire and Massachusetts. New Hampshire obtained fourteen miles in breadth, and about fifty in length, more than they had claimed. A party the following year opposed Mr. Belcher, and by their incessant applications to the ministry, by falsehood and forgery, they finally prevailed. He was succeeded in New Hampshire, by Benning Wentworth; in Massachusetts by William Shirley. Mr. Belcher repaired to court; demonstrated his own integrity and the baseness of his enemies, was appointed governor of New Jersey, passed a quiet life, and his memory has been treated with merited respect.

In 1744, news of war with France and Spain being received, forces were raised to attack Nova Scotia. Governor Shirley projected an invasion of Louisbourg, the *Dunkirk* of America. Its fortifications had employed French troops twenty-five years, and cost 30,000,000 livres. A majority of one, in the general court, voted for the expedition. The land forces were com-

manded by Colonel William Pepperell of Kittery; the English squadron by Commodore Warren. The last of April the following year, the troops, 3800 in number, landed at Chapeau-rogue Bay. The transports had been discovered early in the morning from the town, which was the first notice they had of the design. In the night of May 2, four hundred men burned the warehouses containing the naval stores. The French were alarmed, spiked their guns, flung their powder into a well, and, abandoning the fort, fled to the city. The New England troops cheerfully submitted to extreme hardships; for fourteen nights successively, they were yoked together like oxen, dragging cannon and mortars, through a morass of two miles. The commanding artillery of the enemy forbade this toil in the day. No people on earth, perhaps, are more capable of such labours and daring exploits, than the independant farmers of New England. On the 17th of June, the garrison capitulated, but the flag of France was kept flying, which decoyed into the harbour, ships of the enemy, to the value of £600,000 sterling. The weather, during the siege, was fine, but the day following rains began, which continued ten days, and must have proved fatal to the provincial troops, had not the capitulation prevented. The good people of New England were deeply affected by this evident interposition of divine providence.

The next year, 1746, a French fleet sailed to pour destruction on New England. Twenty men of war, a hundred transports, eight thousand veteran troops, made the country tremble. In their consternation, they were disappointed of a squadron of defence, from the mother country. God interposed. A mortal sickness spread through the fleet; a tempest scattered them; the commander, disappointed and mortified, poisoned himself; his successor fell on his sword. Never was the hand of divine providence more visible; never was a disappointment more severe to the enemy; never a deliverance more complete without human aid, than this in favour of New England.

As the distresses of war ceased, the people were alarmed, in 1749, with the report of an American episcopacy; but the design was not executed. Dr. Mayhew of Boston, distinguished himself in this controversy. This year, Benning Wentworth made a grant of Bennington.

In 1754, a congress met in Albany, consisting of delegates from New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, and Maryland; but the plan

of government they proposed was rejected, both in England and America. Had this instrument been accepted, the mind is lost in conjecturing what might have been the consequences. Perhaps the revolution of 1776, had been postponed a long period; perhaps the millions and millions of the human race lately destroyed in Europe and Asia, by the daemon of revolutionary madness, might have long survived, to swell the tide of human felicity.

Preparations were made in 1755 to dislodge the French from Nova Scotia. Colonel Winslow raised two thousand men, but the command of the expedition was given to Colonel Monkton. The French were subdued. The inhabitants had taken the oath of allegiance to the British Crown, but were accused of furnishing support and intelligence to Indians and French, in annoying the colonies; some of them were in arms. It was determined to remove them; about two thousand souls were accordingly transported to New England. The cloud of their sorrows was never dispelled; in a land of strangers, most of them pined away and died. They were remarkable for the simplicity of their manners, the ardour of their piety, and the purity of their morals.

General Braddock, with two thousand two hundred regular and provincial troops, marched this year for Fort du Quesne, but fell into an ambuscade, and was fatally wounded; panic seized his regular troops, but colonel Washington, his aid-de-camp, with his militia, covered their retreat, and saved the shattered army.

The 18th of November, this year, was a memorable day on account of the earthquake. The wooden spindle of the vane on Faneuil Hall was broken; and an iron one which supported the vane on Springfield steeple was bent to a right angle: stone walls were thrown down, and the tops of chimnies shaken off.

In 1758, Louisbourg, Frontenac, and Fort du Quesne, submitted to the English, a small compensation for more than two thousand men killed and wounded in the rash and unsuccessful attack upon Ticonderoga. Splendid were the victories of the year 1759. Niagara, Ticonderoga, Crown Point, and Quebec submitted to the English. At the taking of Quebec, Wolfe, the British commander, after being wounded in the wrist, received a fatal ball in his breast. Leaning on the shoulder of a lieutenant, sinking in the agonies of death, he heard a cry, " they run." For a moment reviving, he asked,

who ran? It was answered, "The French." He replied, "I thank God, I die happy," and expired. Montcalm, the French commander, and also the second in command, were killed. Quebec surrendered, and the whole province was soon annexed to the British empire.

In 1762, Martinico, Grenada, St. Vincents, and Havana submitted: English valour was triumphant in every quarter of the globe; peace followed.

CHAP. XXVI.

Stamp Act—Dartmouth College founded—Lexington and Bunkerhill Battles—Expedition to Canada—Boston evacuated—Ticonderoga taken—Descent on Rhode Island—Tryon's Expedition to Connecticut—American Academy incorporated—New London burnt—Insurrection in Massachusetts—Federal Constitution—Colleges in Vermont and Maine.

IT was now thought a proper time to tax America. The stamp act, which passed in 1765, roused New England. Every man was used to inform the mind, and kindle the passions. Massachusetts made the proposal, and a congress assembled. In Connecticut the people met; the stamp-master resigned. The first of November, when the stamp act was to operate in Boston, the bells tolled, shops were shut, effigies of the royalists were carried about in derision, and torn in pieces. At Portsmouth, the bells tolled; a coffin was prepared; on the lid was inscribed "Liberty, aged 145;" a procession moved with unbraced drums; minute guns were fired; an oration was delivered at the grave. At the close, the coffin was taken up, signs of life appeared in the corpse; "Liberty revived," was substituted; the bells struck a cheerful key; joy sparkled in every countenance: all was decency and order. At Rhode Island, the day passed in a similar manner. In March, 1766, the obnoxious act was repealed; ships in the Thames displayed their colours, houses were illuminated through the city of London, and the colonies rejoiced in their deliverance.

In 1769, Dartmouth College was established by a royal charter, the pious and labourious Dr. Eleazer Wheelock, the

founder, was appointed the first President, with power of appointing his successor. He removed Moor's Indian Charity School from Lebanon, in Connecticut, to Hanover, in New Hampshire, where the college was established. A principal object with this good man was, to civilize and spread the gospel among the aboriginal natives of the country; persevering were his exertions, and indefatigable his labours, for the accomplishment of this benevolent and noble design. Considerable numbers were taught in the grammar school, and made some advance in collegiate studies; only one or two, however, obtained the honours of college. Several missionaries were sent to different tribes with some success; but the revolutionary war cut off supplies from England, and, for a time, interrupted the good work.

The college stands on a beautiful and elevated plain, half a mile west from Connecticut river. The place is very healthy, and the prospect commanding. About 80,000 acres of land constitute the permanent funds of the college. Their value is constantly increasing; in 1805, their income may be estimated at about 2000 dollars. The number of undergraduates is generally about 150. The students are under the immediate government and instruction of a president, three professors, and one tutor. The professorships are, one of mathematics, natural and moral philosophy, one of Hebrew and the other oriental languages, and one of chemistry and medicine. The college building is 150 feet by 50, three stories high.

The same year that Dartmouth College was founded, 1769, the first commencement of Rhode Island college was attended. It was incorporated in 1764, and was organized at Warren, where it continued till 1770. It was then removed to Providence, where a handsome brick building had been erected for its accomodation. It stands on the hill east of the town, has a healthy air, and beautiful prospect. The edifice is four stories high, 150 feet long, 46 wide, with a projection of ten feet on each side in the centre. From December, 1776, to June, 1782, it was used as an hospital and barrack by the French and American troops. It is now a flourishing institution. The president and a majority of the trustees, must always be of the Baptist denomination. They have a valuable library and philosophical apparatus.

The limits of this little volume prevent a detail of the various events which produced the revolutionary war, and the

independence of the United States. We only observed that new duties on various articles; the sending troops to Boston; the firing of the guard, after they had been highly provoked, which was called a massacre; the shutting up the port of Boston, &c. again roused the indignation of the country. Votes of legislatures, committees of correspondence, liberty poles in towns and villages, displayed the resolute zeal of the people to defend their rights.

In the night of April 18th, 1775, General Gage sent eight hundred troops to destroy the stores at Concord. At eleven o'clock, they embarked at Boston Common, and landed at Phip's Farm with all possible stillness. But so watchful were the people, so alive to every motion of the British troops, that nothing could be obtained by stratagem. News was instantly carried to Concord, and the country was alarmed. By two in the morning, one hundred and thirty of the Lexington militia had assembled to oppose them. Between four and five o'clock, the enemy appeared. Major Pitcairn rode up, ordered the militia to disperse, fired his pistol, and ordered his men to fire. Some were killed, several returned the fire; but the British proceeded to Concord, and executed their commission. There they fired upon Major Butterick; he returned the fire, and the British soon began their retreat to Boston. The Americans closely followed, firing from fences and walls. At Lexington, Lord Percy met them with nine hundred men. These, having two pieces of cannon, kept their pursuers at a greater distance. Before dark, they reached Bunkerhill, having travelled that day between thirty and forty miles. The next day they returned to Boston. Sixty-five of their number had been killed, one hundred and eighty wounded, twenty-eight taken prisoners. The Americans had fifty killed, thirty-eight wounded and missing.

The provincial congress, then sitting, voted an army of thirty thousand men; thirteen thousand six hundred to be from their own province. They sent to the other New England colonies: an army of twenty thousand men shortly invested Boston, under the command of General Ward. Soon were these joined by a large body from Connecticut, under general Putnam, whose name was then a host. The continental congress resolved to organise an army, and recommended a general fast. The clergy, in their sermons and prayers, consecrated the cause, and kept alive the ardour of the people. Colonel Ar-

sold, sent from Connecticut, being joined by Colonel Allen, May 10th, took Ticonderoga and Crown Point, with all their military stores,

On the night of June 16, 1775, General Putnam with a thousand men, took possession of Breed's Hill, (erroneously called Bunker's.) They laboured with such diligence and ardour, that, by the dawn of light, they had thrown up a redoubt, of eight rods square. As soon as the British ships discovered them in the morning, they began a heavy fire, which was supported by a fort on Cop's hill, in Boston. An incessant storm of balls and bombs, was poured on this handful of farmers, the greater part of whom had probably never heard, the roar of artillery before. They diligently continued their work, and had almost completed a breastwork to the water, eastward. They had been laborious through the night; they had not been relieved, nor supplied with refreshment. In this exhausted situation, they were destined to meet the fury of British valour.

A little after noon, boats and barges filled with three thousand veterans, the flower of the royal army, landed in Charlestown. Generals Howe, and Pigot, commanded. Burgoyne and Clinton stood watchful on Cop's hill. British troops and citizens of Boston crowded their roofs and steeples to witness the dubious conflict. The American army and the country people thronged the surrounding hills. The fleet, as well as the camps, gazed at the opening scene. The king's troops deliberately advanced, that their artillery might demolish the new raised works. Charlestown was now set on fire, by order of the British commander, and immediately four hundred houses were in a blaze. The lofty steeple of the meeting-house, formed a pyramid of flame, magnificent and awful, in view of many thousand anxious spectators. The slow approach of the enemy, gave time to assume greater presence of mind. In this crisis Putnam made an harangue. He reminded them "that they were all marksmen; and could bring a squirrel from the highest tree." He charged them "to be cool, and reserve their fire till the enemy were near; till they could see the white of their eyes." They obeyed. At the distance of ten rods they began a furious discharge of small arms. The British, whose ranks were thinned, retreated with precipitation. Again Putnam addressed his men. He told them "they had done well, and would do much better, and directed them to aim at the officers." The British returned. The

fire was terrible. Their officers exclaimed, "it is downright, butchery to lead the men against the lines."

In telling the story, "My God," said Putnam, "I never saw such carnage of the human race." At the next assault, the enemy receiving new strength by the arrival of General Clinton; the cannonade from the ships, the batteries of Boston and the field artillery increasing their fury, and the powder of the Americans failing, a retreat was ordered. Fifteen hundred Americans were engaged; seventy-seven were killed, among whom was the brave General Warren, a volunteer in the action; two hundred and seventy-eight were wounded and missing. The British lost one thousand and fifty-four killed; of whom nineteen were commissioned officers. A greater number than they lost at the battle of Quebec, which gave them the province of Canada; a proof that Putnam's orders were not disregarded.

The people of Falmouth, now Portland, violently opposing the loading of a mast ship, Captain Mowat received orders to burn the town. Privateers at this time were successful. Captain Manly brought in a vessel loaded with military stores, valued at £50,000. This summer, a detachment was sent from Cambridge to Quebec, under the command of Colonel Arnold: they ascended the Kennebec, and had a dismal march thence into Canada. Many of the men became sickly; one third were discouraged and returned; those who bravely persevered were compelled to eat their dogs, their shoes, and even their cartouch boxes. In thirty-one days they found inhabitants. They joined General Montgomery, and with him scaled the walls of Quebec. American valour was unsuccessful. The brave Montgomery fell; Arnold was wounded; one hundred men were killed or wounded, three hundred taken prisoners. These General Carlton treated with the most delicate humanity, as he always did his prisoners.

On the night of March 4th, 1776, works were raised on the hills of Dorchester, twelve hundred men were employed, and two hundred teams. So prodigious were their labours, that in the morning, the whole seemed to the British "like enchantment and invisible agency." General Howe was seized with consternation. In vast confusion and hurry Boston was evacuated.

In 1777, astonishment and terror spread through New England by the flight of St. Clair, from Ticonderoga. The rear of his army was attacked at Hubberton, a few miles from Lake

Champlain. The brave Colonel Francis, of Beverly, fell, with a number of his men. General St. Clair was at Castleton, within hearing of the musketry; but though his officers entreated with tears, that they might return to succour their brethren, he forbade them. General Stark turned the alarming tide of affairs by his gallant action at Bennington. He routed Col. Baum, and killed or wounded a great part of his detachment. This kindled new courage through the eastern states. It was the first step to the capture of Burgoyne, which procured us success in Europe, and insured the independence of the country. This year Vermont declared itself a sovereign state.

Five hundred British and Hessian troops burned the meeting house in Warren, (Rhode Island) the church in Bristol, and a number of houses in each town, in 1778. Newport was soon threatened by land and sea. General Sullivan passed to the island with ten thousand troops, in high spirits, and nothing forbade the conquest of the British, who took possession of this island in 1776, but a failure of aid from the French fleet. This brought on them many execrations in New England. General Pigot, the British commander, had so placed himself, that a fleet was necessary to attack them with hope of success. After an action, supported with spirit, Sullivan left the island, with the loss of two or three hundred men.

In the summer of 1779, Governor Tryon landed at New Haven, and plundered the town, proceeding by water, burned Fairfield; continuing the work of destruction, he burned part of Green's Farms, and the pleasant town of Norwalk.

On the 4th of May, 1780, the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, now one of the most respectable literary societies in America, was incorporated by the general court of Massachusetts.

Early in the morning of September 6th, 1781, General Arnold landed a detachment of troops on Groton Point, and proceeded up to New London with his fleet. He set fire to the town, and immediately sixty houses and eighty-four stores were destroyed, without opposition. But the party at Groton found more bloody work. The men in Fort Griswold, who had hastened there in the morning, from the neighbourhood, defended themselves to the last extremity. The British finally entered the fort, sword in hand, and killed every man they found. Col. Ledyard resigning his sword, the officer plunged it into his heart. One man escaped by concealing himself in the magazine, another by climbing up a chimney in the bur-

rack; one or two, who fell wounded among the slain; recovered. Awful was this day to Groton. The compact part of the town was in ashes, seventy of her valuable citizens, who in the morning rushed to arms, lay dead in the fort; they were conveyed to their families for interment. Peace between the belligerent powers put an end to these bloody scenes in 1783.

In 1784, New Hampshire established a constitution of civil government, as Massachusetts had done, in 1780. Connecticut and Rhode Island continued their ancient constitutions, and experienced no sensible change by the revolution.

Owing to their embarrassed circumstances, from the decay of trade, the loss of public credit, the weight of public and private debts, in the fall of 1786, the three western counties of Massachusetts obstructed the judicial courts; but were soon brought to submission, and are now very generally among the zealous friends of good government.

The next year the federal constitution was formed, and afterward adopted by all the states of New England; who, with the other parts of the union, have liberally shared the blessings of that event, in the revival of commerce, and public credit, the increase of wealth, the promotion of the liberal arts, and all that exalts or adorns civil society; long may these enterprising states remain solid pillars in the federal edifice; and long maintain the pure morals, the serious religion, and wise institutions of their pious forefathers.

The emigrants to Vermont, carrying a good portion of the virtue and intelligence of their native states into their new settlements, founded institutions of science, as soon as they were able to support them. In 1791, the legislature established a college at Burlington, on Lake Champlain, pleasantly situated on the south side of Onion river. Large sums of money were subscribed for erecting buildings, and the establishment of a fund. Ten trustees were appointed, who have since elected a president, under whom a course of collegiate studies has been commenced by a number of youth. The state has granted about thirty-three thousand acres of new land for the support of a college. In 1800, another college was incorporated in Middlebury, which is now flourishing under a president and other officers. The college edifice is the largest building in the state.

In 1726, Bowdoin College, at Brunswick, in Maine, was incorporated. Ten thousand dollars by the Hon. James Bowdoin, Esq. and six townships by the legislature have been

given for the benefit of this institution, beside other smaller donations. It is under the government of two boards, one of thirteen trustees, one of forty-five overseers. A building of brick is erected, fifty feet long, forty wide, three stories high. This institution is remote from any other college, and bids fair to be useful under a president and professor of languages.

CHAP. XXVII.

Description of New England—Mountains—Climate—Diseases— Soil—Rivers—Productions—Forests.

NEW ENGLAND is a country which presents to the traveller all the varieties of surface which can be found. There is a plain of great extent in the south-eastern part of Massachusetts. Extensive plains are also spread through a considerable part of the counties of York and Cumberland, and along the Merrimack through the interior of New Hampshire. Many others not inconsiderable, exist in other places. Vallies of every size, from the great Connecticut valley to the little bason, constitute of course no inconsiderable part of a country which is so generally undulating, and whose hills are a proverbial description of its surface. Connecticut valley extends from Saybrook to the Canada line, and is not far from three hundred miles in length. Its breadth varies from half a mile to twenty miles; and is charmingly diversified by the intrusion of numerous spurs from the two great ranges of mountains, which form its eastern and western boundaries.

The mountains in New England are either long ranges or separate eminences. The westernmost range begins in the county of Fairfield, and, passing through the counties of Litchfield and Berkshire, may be said to unite with the Green Mountains at Williamstown, in the north-west corner of Massachusetts: being there separated only by the narrow valley of Hoosac river. The highest part of this range is Toghkonnuck mountain in Egremont, the south-western corner of the same state. Over this mountain, which is probably elevated more than three thousand feet above the ocean, runs the boundary between Massachusetts, Connecti-

cut, and New York. This range, hitherto known by no appropriate name, may, with propriety, be called *Toghkonnuck Range*.

The second range is that of the *Green Mountains*. The eastern front of this range begins at New Haven, in a noble bluff, called *West Rock*, and extends thence, to the Canada line; sloping, however, with a very gradual declension, in the northern parts of Vermont; and in Canada becoming merely a collection of small hills. The two highest summits of this range are the *Camel's Rump*, (so called from its strong resemblance to the back of that animal) and the mountain of *Mansfield*, both in Vermont, in the county of Chittenden: these are very lofty, several thousand feet above the ocean. The third range begins also at New Haven in another very delightful eminence, called the *East Rock*; and, passing through the counties of New Haven, Hartford, and Hampshire, extends into Canada, through the whole length of the state of New Hampshire. The *Blue Hills*, in Southington, *Mount Tom*, *Mount Holyoke*, in the vicinity of Northampton and Hadley, and *Mount Toby*, in Sunderland, are the principal summits of this range south of New Hampshire. This range, although less lofty than the highest parts of the two former, is yet more precipitous and romantic than either. It crosses Connecticut river just below Northampton and Hadley, in Massachusetts. No mountains in New England present, from their summits, so delightful views as are furnished by various eminences of this range. This may be advantageously termed *The Range of Mount Tom*, which is the principal eminence.

The south or eastern range is less distinctly marked; it begins at Lyme, in Connecticut, and forms the eastern boundary of the Connecticut valley, until it unites with the last mentioned range in the county of Hampshire. It has no very remarkable eminences.

Of single mountains, the highest, in Massachusetts, is *Saddle Mountain*, in the towns of Adams, and Williamstown, so called from its striking resemblance to that piece of furniture. This mountain is computed to be little less than four thousand feet above the surface of the ocean. Its southern point is the highest land in Massachusetts. *Watchusett* is a lofty hill in Princeton, in the county of Worcester. *Aschutney* is a noble single hill in Windsor, in the state of Vermont. *Monadnock* is a very lofty conical mountain in Jaffrey, New

Hampshire. The White Mountains in New Hampshire are a round clump with numerous summits, of which *Mount Washington* is far the highest; being probably between ten and eleven thousand feet above the surface of the ocean; and much the highest land in the United States. Nothing can be more majestic than the appearance of this mountain; it is covered, a great part of the year, with snow, and in this state is seen ninety miles as sea, in fair weather, and one hundred and sixty from its base. The mountains called Moosehillock, or Mooseheelock, and Ossipee, are short ranges in New Hampshire, of very considerable height, and very respectable appearance; as are those called Pondicherry, (vulgarly Cherry) a lofty range of the White Mountains, on the north-west; though these last may be considered as a continuation of the range of Mount Tom.

New England abounds in cataracts and cascades, alternately of great beauty and grandeur; of the first of these the Connecticut, Housatonic, or Hooestonnuc, Onion, Saco, Kennebec, and Penobscot, furnish a great number, as do also several smaller rivers. The cascades of the White Mountains are perhaps unrivalled in their romantic beauty.

Precipices of great wildness and grandeur are presented by many of these mountains. The south-western side of the summit of Mount Washington, particularly, which is a perpendicular descent of vast extent, and is superlatively majestic and awful. Of softer or more elegant scenery, few countries furnish so many or so exquisite varieties as New England. The fine intervals which border its numerous streams, particularly the noble ones on the Connecticut, are among the most finished beauties of the landscape. To complete the picture, the native and universal verdure which clothes the lean and dry, as well as the rich and moist part, gives an unrivalled cheerfulness to the whole country.

New England has a very healthful climate, as is evinced by the longevity of the inhabitants. It is estimated, that about one in seven of the inhabitants live to the age of seventy years; and about one in thirteen or fourteen to eighty years and upwards.

North-west, west, and south-west winds are the most prevalent. East and north-east winds, which are unelastic and disagreeable, are frequent at certain seasons of the year, particularly in April and May, on the sea coasts. The weather is less variable than in the middle, and especially the southern,

states, and more so than in Canada. The extremes of heat and cold, according to Fahrenheit's thermometer, are from 80 degrees below to 100 degrees above 0. The medium is from 48 to 50 degrees. The inhabitants of New England, on account of the dryness of their atmosphere, can endure, without inconvenience, a greater degree of heat than the inhabitants of a moister climate. It is supposed, by some philosophers, that the difference of moisture in the atmosphere of Pennsylvania and New England is such, as that a person might bear at least ten degrees of heat more in the latter than in the former.

The quantity of water which annually falls in England is computed at twenty-four inches; in New England, from forty-two to forty-eight; and yet in the latter they suffer more from drought than in the former. These facts evince the remarkable dryness of the atmosphere in this eastern division of the United States, and in part account for its singular healthfulness. Winter commonly commences, in its severity, about the middle of December; sometimes earlier, and sometimes not till Christmas. Cattle are fed or housed, in the northern parts of New England, from about the 20th of November to the 20th of May; in the southern parts not quite so long. There have been frosts in every month in the year, though not in the same year; but not very injurious.

The diseases most prevalent in New England are—alvine fluxes, St. Anthony's fire, asthma, atrophy, catarrh, colic, inflammatory, slow, nervous, and mixed fevers, pulmonary consumption, quinsey, and rheumatism.

Of these disorders, the pulmonary consumption is much the most destructive, and is commonly the effect of imprudent exposures to cold and rainy weather, and the night air with the same quantity of clothing, and the wearing of damp linen; and among the lowest order of people, from the intemperate use of strong liquors, especially of fresh distilled rum, which, in too many instances, proves the bane of morals, and the ruin of families.

The small-pox, which is a specific, infectious disease, is not allowed at present to be communicated by inoculation, except in hospitals erected for the purpose, in by-places, and in cases where there is a probability of a general spread of the infection in a town. Nor is this disease permitted to be communicated, generally, by inoculation, in any of the United States, except New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and South Carolina.

In populous towns, the prevalent diseases are more numerous and complicated, owing to want of fresh air and exercise, and to luxurious and fashionable living.

In these northern latitudes, the prevalent disorders of the winter months, among the males, are *inflammatory*. Both men and women suffer from not adopting a warmer method of cloathing.

On Lake Champlain, and some other waters, and where running streams have been converted into nearly stagnant ponds, intermittents frequently prevail. But this disease is seldom known within thirty or forty miles of the sea coast. In some of the elevated parts of Vermont, and in a few places in the western parts of New Hampshire, children, women, and some men of delicate constitutions, are affected with swellings on the throat. This effect is ascribed to their drinking brook and river water. Boston, Providence, Newburyport, and a few other places on the sea coast, and in the interior country, have been visited with the yellow fever.

A late writer (Dr. Foolke, in a discourse read before the American Philosophical Society) has observed, that "in other countries, men are divided according to their wealth or indigence, into three classes; the opulent, the middling, and the poor; the idleness, luxuries, and debaucheries of the first, and the misery and too frequent intemperance of the last, destroy the greater proportion of these two. The intermediate class is below those indulgencies, which prove fatal to the rich, and above those sufferings to which the unfortunate poor fall victims: this is, therefore, the happiest division of the three. Of the rich and poor, the American republic furnishes a much smaller proportion than any other district of the known world. In Connecticut, particularly, the distribution of wealth and its concomitants is more equal than elsewhere, and therefore, as far as excess or want of wealth may prove destructive or salutary to life, the inhabitants of this state may plead exemption from diseases." What this writer says of Connecticut in particular will, with very few exceptions, apply to New England at large.

The soil of New England is diversified by every variety, from a lean and barren sand, to the richest clay and loams. The first great division of soil is a brown loam every where mixed with gravel. With this the hills, which constitute a great part of the whole surface, are universally covered. This soil is always favorable to the production of grass, and in the

western parts of the country (when not too-moist) of wheat and all other kinds of grain, and of every kind of fruit suited to the climate. Maize, or Indian corn, grows well, even on the wet grounds, where this soil exists.

Clayey soils are more rarely found, and are also very productive, especially when manured. A rich loam, varying towards clay, begins at Guilford and Branford, in Connecticut, and spreads through the whole breadth of that state, terminating in West Springfield. The same soil prevails also in Salisbury and Sharon, and covers about one quarter of the western half of Connecticut. This soil, wherever it exists, is favourable to every kind of cultivation, and is surpassed in goodness by no land in this country.

Sand prevails very commonly on the plains, and abounds in the south eastern part of Massachusetts, in the old colony of Plymouth. The yellow pine plains are commonly a mixture of sand and gravel; are light and warm, and friendly to every production which does not demand a richer soil. The white pine plains are usually covered with loam, as are some of the yellow pine plains, and are not unfrequently fertile. The valleys, almost without exception, are a rich mould, and friendly to every growth of the climate.

The intervals, which border the various streams, are usually lands formed by earth deposited by the floods, (or, as they are called, freshets) in the spring, and are of the richest quality. Marshes, except of trifling extent, are rare. The most considerable are around New Haven, and along the eastern coast of Massachusetts and New Hampshire.

The principal rivers of New England are the Schoduc, Penobscot, Kennebec, Amariscoggin, Saco, Piscataqua, Merrimack, Parkers, Charles, Taunton, Providence, Thames, Connecticut, Hooestonnuc, or Stratford, Onion, La Moille, and Missiscoui. Penobscot, Kennebec, Merrimack and Connecticut are the largest.

Innumerable smaller rivers divide the country in every direction, enrich the soil, adorn the landscape, and furnish mill seats to almost every village. Windmills are erected in very few places. The principal rivers will be described under their proper heads.

The principal lakes are Champlain and Memphremagog, lying partly in Vermont and partly in New York; Winnepiseogee and Umbagog, in New Hampshire; Sebago, Moosehead, Willeguenguagun, and Chilmacook, or Grand Lake,

in Maine. Small lakes, commonly called ponds, of every size, are scattered throughout the country. Springs and small brooks water almost every farm.

Harbours abound in Maine and Massachusetts. The most useful ones, at present, are those of Machias, Frenchman's Bay, Wiscasset, Portland, and Wells, in Maine; Piscataqua, in New Hampshire; Newburyport, Salem, Marblehead, Boston, Province Town, and New Bedford, in Massachusetts proper; Newport, Bristol, and Providence, in Rhode Island; and New London, New Haven, and Black Rock in Fairfield, in Connecticut. Burlington Bay is the most considerable harbour in Lake Champlain, on the Vermont shore.

The produce of the fields in New England is of every kind suited to the climate. In the western half, and in various parts of the eastern, wheat, before the ravages of the Hessian fly, grew abundantly; but that insect has not a little discouraged the culture of this grain. Indian corn is a most abundant and useful grain, furnishing a very healthful and pleasing food to the inhabitants, and yielding also the best means of fattening their numerous herds of cattle and swine. The kind, frequently called sweet corn, is perhaps the most delicious of all culinary vegetables, if eaten young, and one of the most salubrious. The juice of the corn stalk yields a rich molasses, and a spirit not inferior to that of the sugar cane. No cultivated vegetable makes so noble an appearance in the field. Fruits of every kind, which suit a temperate climate, abound, or may be easily made to abound here. The heat of the summer brings to high perfection the peach, apricot, and nectarine. The orchards of apple trees cover a considerable part of the whole country, except the new settlements. Cider is the common drink of the inhabitants of every class, and may often be obtained in the interior country by paying for the labour of gathering the apples, and making the cider. Pears, plums, cherries, currants, gooseberries, whortleberries, blackberries, &c. abound. Perry is made in some parts of the country, but not in great quantities. Butternuts, shagbarks, and various other fruits of the different species of the hickory and hazle nuts, are plentifully furnished by the southern half of New England. Madeira nuts and black walnuts are rarely cultivated, although the last grow very easily and rapidly. Hortuline productions are also abundant, of every kind found in this climate, and grow with very little care or culture. Gardening is much improved, and still

advancing; many good gardens are seen in almost every quarter of New England. But the most important production of New England is grass. This not only adorns the face of the country, with a beauty unrivalled in the new world, but also furnishes more wealth and property to its inhabitants, than any other kind of vegetation. A farm of two hundred acres of the best grazing land, is worth, to the occupier, as much as a farm of three hundred acres of the best tillage land. The reason is obvious. Far less labour is necessary to gather the produce and convey it to market.

The beef and pork of New England are abundant and excellent, and feed the inhabitants of many other countries. The mutton is also exquisite, when well fed, and of the proper age; but it must be confessed, that, except in a part of the eastern half of this country, it is very often brought to market too young and indifferently fed, to the injury of both the farmer and the consumer. The lamb is universally fine, but is most excellent in the states of New Hampshire and Vermont; and particularly in the parts of these states which border on Connecticut river. A great discouragement to the raising of sheep, exists in a kind of enclosure which is extensive, the stone wall: over this wall sheep pass with great ease, and cannot, without much difficulty and labour, be prevented from intruding into all the parts of a farm, wherever this kind of fence is in use. This evil, which is not a small one, will, however, be probably removed by increasing the new breed of sheep, called the Otter breed. These sheep, which, it is said, began in an extraordinary manner, at Mendon, in Massachusetts (of which a sufficiently correct account to be inserted here has not been received,) have legs somewhat resembling those of a hare; and while they are not inferior to the common breed, in flesh or wool, are unable to climb any fence; a circumstance which, in New England, confers on them a peculiar value. The wool of the New England sheep is of a good staple, and may be improved, (as it often has been by attentive farmers) to a high, but indefinite degree. The best wool, and the best mutton also are furnished by short and sweet pastures, and in dry seasons.

The veal of New England is extremely rich and fine when well fed, as it is to a great extent.

Butter and cheese, in this country, are made in vast quantities, and of various goodness. The butter is very generally excellent, but is still very commonly rendered sensibly worse

in the firkin by the imperfect manner in which it is prepared. A great quantity of ordinary cheese is shipped yearly, to the disadvantage of both the maker and the merchant. There is also a great quantity of cheese of a superior quality made throughout the country. The dairies in Pomfret and Brooklyn, and a few of the neighbouring towns in the eastern part of Connecticut, are probably more generally of the first class than in any other quarter.

Of the forests of New England, and not improbably of the world, the white pine is the first ornament; the greatest diameter of this extraordinary tree does not exceed six feet, but its height, in some instances, exceeds two hundred and sixty. This vast stem is often exactly straight, and tapering, and without a limb, to the height of more than one hundred and fifty feet. The colour and form of the foliage are exquisite; and the whole crown is noble beyond any thing of this kind, and perfectly suited to the stem which it adorns. The murmurs of the wind in a grove of white pines, is one of the first poetical objects in the field of nature. This tree is of vast importance for building. The white oak of New England is a noble and most useful tree. It is less enduring than the live or the English oak; but the early decay of ships, built of the white oak, so generally complained of, is less owing to the nature of the tree, than to the haste and carelessness of the builders. When the timber has been well selected and seasoned, ships formed of this material, have come near to the age of those built of the English oak. The chesnut is also of incalculable importance as a material in the construction of buildings, and for fencing. A fence composed of good rails of this tree, will endure seventy or eighty years. The chesnut is very common throughout the southern half of New England, and is of no small value, on account of the nourishment it affords to swine during their growth.

The country likewise abounds in a very great variety of flowering shrubs and plants, many of which are not only beautiful but highly useful.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Population, Character, Amusements, Learning, Religion.

NEW ENGLAND is the most populous part of the United States. It contained, in 1790, 1,009,522 souls, and in 1800, 1,233,011. The great body of these are land-holders and cultivators of the soil. As they possess, in fee simple, the farms which they cultivate, they are naturally all attached to their country; the cultivation of the soil makes them robust and healthy, and enables them to defend it.

New England may, with propriety, be called a nursery of men, whence are annually transplanted into other parts of the United States, thousands of its natives. Vast numbers of them, since the war, have emigrated into the northern parts of New York, into Canada, Kentucky, the Western territory, and Georgia; and indeed into every state, and every town of note in the Union.

The inhabitants of New England are almost universally of English descent; and it is owing to this circumstance, and to the great and general attention that has been paid to education, that the English language has been preserved among them so free from corruption.

The New Englanders are generally tall, stout, and well built. Their education, laws, and situation serve to inspire them with high notions of liberty. Their jealousy is awakened at the first motion toward an invasion of their rights. They are indeed often jealous to excess; a circumstance which is a fruitful source of imaginary grievances, and of groundless suspicions and complaints against government. But these ebullitions of jealousy, though censurable, and productive of some political evils, shew that the essence of true liberty exists in New England; for watchfulness is a guardian of liberty, and a characteristic of freemen.

A chief foundation of freedom in the New England States, is a law by which intestate estates descend to all the children, or other heirs, in equal proportions. In consequence of these laws, the people of New England enjoy an equality of condition unknown in any other part of the world; and it is in this way that the people have preserved that happy mediocrity among themselves, which, by inducing economy and industry, removes from them temptations to lux-

ury, and forms them to habits of sobriety and temperance. At the same time their industry and frugality exempt them from want, and from the necessity of submitting to any encroachments on their liberties.

In New England, learning is more generally diffused among all ranks of people, than in any other part of the United States; a fact arising from the excellent establishment of schools in every town.

In these schools, which are generally supported by a public tax, and under the direction of a school committee, are taught the elements of reading, writing, and arithmetic; and in the more wealthy towns, they are beginning to introduce the higher branches of grammar, geography, &c.

A very valuable source of information to the people is the newspapers, of which not less than thirty thousand are printed every week in New England, and circulated in almost every town and village in the country.

A person of mature age, who cannot both read and write, is rarely to be found. By means of this general establishment of schools, the extensive circulation of newspapers, and the consequent diffusion of learning, every township throughout the country is furnished with men capable of conducting the affairs of their town with judgment and discretion: these men are the channels of political information to the lower class of people, if such a class may be said to exist in New England, where every man thinks himself at least as good as his neighbour.

The people, from their childhood, form habits of canvassing public affairs, and commence politicians. This naturally leads them to be very inquisitive. It is with knowledge as with riches, the more a man has, the more he desires to obtain. This desire after knowledge, in a greater or less degree, prevails throughout all classes of people in New England; and from their various modes of expressing it, some of which are blunt and familiar, bordering on impertinence, strangers have been induced to mention *impertinent inquisitiveness* as a distinguishing characteristic of New England people. But this inquisitiveness is rarely troublesome, and generally pleasing. The common people of New England are excelled by no common people in the world, in civility to strangers.

Before the late war, which introduced into New England a flood of corruptions, together with many improvements, the sabbath was observed with great strictness; no unnecessary

travelling, no secular business, no visiting, no diversions were permitted on that sacred day. The people considered it as consecrated to divine worship, and were generally punctual and serious in their attendance upon it. Their laws were strict in guarding the sabbath against every innovation. The supposed severity with which these laws were composed and executed, together with some other traits in their religious character, have acquired for the New Englanders the name of a superstitious, bigotted people. But all persons are called superstitious by those less conscientious, and less disposed to regard religion with reverence, than themselves. Since the war, a catholic, tolerant spirit, occasioned by a more enlarged intercourse with mankind, has increased, and is becoming universal: and if they do not go beyond the proper bound, and liberalize away all true religion, of which there is very great danger, they will counteract that strong propensity in human nature, which leads men to vibrate from one extreme to another.

There is one distinguishing characteristic in the religious character of this people, which we must not omit to mention; and that is, the custom of annually celebrating fasts and thanksgivings. In the spring, the governors of the several New England states, except Rhode Island, issue their proclamation, appointing a day to be religiously observed in fasting, humiliation, and prayer, throughout their respective states; in which the predominating vices, that particularly call for humiliation, are enumerated. In autumn, after harvest, that gladsome era in the husbandman's life, the governors again issue their proclamations, appointing a day of public thanksgiving, enumerating the public blessings received in the course of the foregoing year.

This pious custom originated with their venerable ancestors, the first settlers of New England; and has been handed down as sacred, through the successive generations of their posterity. A custom so rational, and so happily calculated to cherish in the minds of the people, a sense of their dependence on the Great Benefactor of the world for all their blessings, it is hoped will ever be sacredly preserved.

The people of New England generally obtain their estates by hard and persevering labour: they of consequence know their value, and are frugal. Yet in no country do the indigent and unfortunate fare better. Their laws oblige every town to provide a competent maintenance for their poor, and the re-

cessitous stranger is protected and relieved by their humane institutions. It may in truth be said, that in no part of the world are the people happier, better furnished with the necessaries and conveniences of life, or more independent than the farmers in New England. As the great body of the people are hardy, independent freeholders, their manners are, as they ought to be, congenial to their employment, plain, simple, and manly. Strangers are received and entertained among them with a great deal of artless sincerity, and friendly, plain hospitality. Their children, those imitative creatures, to whose education particular attention is paid, early imbibe the manners and habits of those around them; and the stranger, with pleasure, notices the honest and decent respect that is paid him by the children as he passes through the country.

As the people, by representation, make their own laws, and appoint their own officers, they cannot be oppressed; and living under governments which have few lucrative places, they have few motives to bribery, corrupt canvassings, or intrigue. Real abilities and a moral character unblemished, have hitherto been the qualifications requisite in the view of most people, for officers of public trust. The expression of a wish to be promoted, was, and is still, in some parts of New England, the direct way to be disappointed.

The inhabitants are generally fond of the arts and sciences, and have cultivated them with great success. Their colleges have flourished. The illustrious characters they have produced, who have distinguished themselves in politics, law, divinity, the mathematics, and philosophy, natural and civil history, and in the fine arts, particularly in poetry and painting, evince the truth of these observations.

Many of the women in New England are handsome. They generally have fair, fresh, and healthful countenances, mingled with much female softness and delicacy. Those who have had the advantages of a good education, and they are numerous, are genteel, easy, and agreeable in their manners, and are sprightly and sensible in conversation. They are early taught to manage domestic concerns with neatness and economy. Ladies of the first distinction and fortune, make it a part of their daily business to superintend the affairs of the family. Employment at the needle, in cookery, and at the spinning wheel, with them is honorable. Idleness, even in those of independent fortunes, is universally disreputable. The women in country towns, manufacture the greater part of the clothing of

their families. The linen and woollen cloaths are strong and decent. Their butter and cheese is not inferior to any in the world.

Among the amusements of the people of New England is dancing, of which the young people of both sexes are extremely fond. Gaming is practised by none but those who cannot, or rather will not, find a *reputable* employment. The gamester, the horse jockey, and the knave, are equally despised, and their company is avoided by all who would sustain fair and irreproachable character.

The athletic and healthy diversions of cricket, football, quoits, wrestling, jumping, hopping, foot races, and prison bass are universally practised in the country, and some of them in the most populous places, and by people of almost all ranks.

For promoting general science, there have been instituted, the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and the Massachusetts Historical Society, at Boston, and the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, at New Haven. For the advancement of agricultural knowledge, several societies have been established, and many others have been formed for various charitable and humane purposes.

The people of New England are protestant christians, excepting a few Jews, who have a synagogue in Newport, and a small society of Roman Catholics, in Boston. The protestants are divided into congregations, these are the prevailing denominations, Episcopalians, Baptists, Friends or Quakers, Methodists, and a few Universalists. As in other parts of the United States, so in the part we are describing, there are numbers who have their religion yet to choose. They have *liberty*, but no *religion*.

The clergymen of New England are a numerous body of men, and, generally speaking, are respectable for their piety, pure morals, learning, and useful industry, and the great harmony and affection in which they live with their people. The cause of general literature is much indebted to their labours. Probably eight tenths of the publications in New England, from its first settlement, have been from the pens of the clergy.

The number and pious exertions of missionary societies, of which seven or eight are instituted in the different states, some of them patronized by the government, do honour to the religious character of New England. At the expence, and under the direction of these societies, a large numbers of missionaries are annually sent among the frontier settlers, who are destitute of

the means of religious instruction. The business of missionaries, is to instruct from house to house, to preach publicly, to administer ordinances, and to distribute bibles and various other religious books. *The good effects which have followed these exertions, in preserving and cherishing the early religious habits of these people, and guarding them against the poison of infidelity and vice, have been great beyond calculation.



1. The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions and activities. It emphasizes that proper record-keeping is essential for transparency and accountability, particularly in financial matters. The text notes that without reliable records, it is difficult to track progress, identify trends, and make informed decisions.

2. The second part of the document outlines the various methods and tools used to collect and analyze data. It mentions the use of surveys, interviews, and focus groups to gather qualitative information, as well as statistical software and data visualization techniques for quantitative analysis. The importance of ensuring the reliability and validity of the data is stressed throughout this section.

3. The third part of the document describes the process of interpreting the results of the data analysis. It highlights the need to consider the context of the data and to be cautious about drawing conclusions based solely on the numbers. The text suggests that a combination of quantitative and qualitative insights can provide a more comprehensive understanding of the issues at hand.

4. The final part of the document discusses the implications of the findings and the next steps for the project. It suggests that the results should be used to inform policy decisions and to guide future research. The text also mentions the importance of communicating the findings to the relevant stakeholders in a clear and concise manner.



